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# Latin America Report

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16 December 1983

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No. 2775

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## CARIBBEAN COOPERATIVE CONFERENCE NAMES TASK FORCE

Castries THE VOICE in English 2 Nov 83 p 3

[Text]

COOPERATORS from the Caribbean islands of Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, St. Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago with their counterparts in Canada have completed three days of intensive and wide-ranging talks at the Green Parrot.

The north/south cooperative development conference was sponsored by the Cooperative Union of Canada in collaboration with the Cooperative Development Foundation of Canada and had as its main objectives: To assist Caribbean people to develop or refine a proposal for a plan of action for cooperative development, produce or refine a cooperative development process to suit their needs, and to identify the resources needed to put the cooperative development process and plans into action.

During the conference participants met to discuss topics related to cooperative development and how this could affect the social and economic life of people and members.

The conference was a follow-up to a six week study tour of Northern Canadian Cooperatives which was undertaken by four Caribbean cooperators drawn from the priority countries of Barbados, St. Lucia, Jamaica and Dominica.

While in Canada they visited various cooperatives, studied their methods and looked into their developmental process, their successes and failures and how these could contribute to the cooperative movement in the Caribbean.

During the South conference

here, presentations were made by these initiators: Everton Charles — Dominica, Hanesley Benn — Barbados, Hector Dietrich — Jamaica and Clive Harris — St. Lucia.

An overview of the cooperative movement in each of the participating countries was also highlighted by individuals presentations from a participant of each of the countries.

Other sessions of the conference directed attention to a cooperative development profile which was accepted as a model for the cooperative development process which can be followed throughout the region.

A list of initiatives that were considered to be necessary for the development of cooperatives in the region was agreed upon and a task force of four persons comprising Everton Charles, Hector Dietrich, Melvin Edwards of Barbados and Mc Clair Daniel of St. Lucia was selected with the main purpose of doing follow-up work on these initiatives.

The initiatives include a joint syllabus for the teaching of cooperatives in schools, harmonization of legislations relevant to cooperatives and their development, and joint efforts for a navigation school for Caribbean fishermen.

The conference was formally declared open by Minister of State in the Ministry of Lands, Fisheries and Cooperatives, Mr. Ferdinand Henry who outlined his government's position on cooperatives in St. Lucia.



MEXICO SAID TO PLACE GUATEMALAN REFUGEE CAMPS 'OFF LIMITS'

Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 22, 23, 24 Oct 83

[Article by special correspondent Edgar O. Giron Castillo: "Guatemalan Refugees in Mexico"]

[22 Oct 83 pp 36, 58]

[Text] Part I

La Trinitaria, Chiapas, Mexico--The Chiapan jungle, where human settlements comprised of Guatemalan refugee camps have been established, has been declared a restricted area until the year 2000 by the Mexican Government and no foreigner may enter that zone, for anyone who dares to do so will be arrested by patrolling squads of federal immigration agents entrusted with strict surveillance of the vast area.

A Road under Construction

Prior to traveling to the Chiapan jungle, our correspondent contacted the municipal president (mayor) of Comitán and the local chief of police, from whom he requested information about traveling to the Guatemalan refugee camps located above Huehuetenango and Quiché.

At no time did the Comitán officials state that there were restrictions on travel to the Chiapan jungle and provided us with information about the refugee camps. A policeman of that city's police force even offered, at the suggestion of the police chief, to accompany us as a guide, [advising us] to begin the trip very early in the morning because it would be necessary to travel 50 km by asphalt road to Montebello and 90 km over a road under construction by the Mexican Government to the Guatemalan border.

Guatemalans Everywhere

The Chiapan jungle has been invaded by thousands of Guatemalan refugees. From Montebello, over the road under construction, to the Ixcán and Chazul airstrips, native Guatemalans can be seen walking along roads and trails.

Our correspondent was not told that the area was restricted and it was not until he was returning to Comitán that he was stopped, near Tziscáo in an area

of beautiful lakes, by a squad of federal immigration agents, who confiscated the photographic material (film) he had in his cameras, both exposed and unexposed, stating that such action was being taken because we were in an officially restricted area.

We were taken back to Comitán, where we were questioned. After waiting 8 hours (we were not held), our immigration papers and our PRENSA LIBRE and Guatemalan Chamber of Journalism credentials were returned to us, our situation having been happily resolved. We were unable to recover the photographic material.

### Interesting Experience

Our concern as journalists was certainly our motivation for making an objective study of the Guatemalan refugee camps in Chiapas, which is why we decided to travel to the Chiapan jungle, and despite the inconvenience suffered, once having returned from Comitán, it constituted a very interesting experience.

In traveling 90 km over an unfinished road, we saw a number of sections in very good condition and just as many with mudholes and sections under construction with heavy machinery; it was an adventure that we were already expecting. The impenetrable jungle and the extensive chain of mountains, with their gorges and valleys, were the setting for our journalistic investigation.

### Encounter with Guatemalans

Our encounter with Guatemalan refugees began near Tziscão. Some kilometers before this area of beautiful lakes, we came upon a group of about eight women in typical dress. They're Guatemalans, we said to our companions.

In fact, we got out of the vehicle and quickly tried to catch up with those women, who tried to run away so that we could not talk to them. They communicated with each other in a dialect, of which we understood nothing, but apparently they were looking for an opening off the road in order to slip away over the ravines.

One of these Guatemalan women allowed us to speak briefly with her. We walked along with her at a fast pace, whereas the others had gotten far ahead and very soon found an opening in a ravine and disappeared.

She said that her name was Catarina Tadeo Carmelo and that she, like her other companions, was a native of La Palma, Huehuetenango, and that they were living in the La Cascada and Aguatinta encampment, where they arrived a little over a year ago.

She quickly caught up with the group and disappeared into the thick Chiapan jungle. We continued our journey over the unfinished road and about 3 or 4 km later, we came upon the La Cascada, Aguatinta and Cuauhtemóc encampment, human settlements comprised of Guatemalan refugees with only one kind of housing, very presentable.

## Deep in the Chiapan Jungle

We continued our trip. We traveled dozens of kilometers until we reached the village of Nuevo San Juan Chamula, formerly known as "Pacayales" and which, according to what we were told in Comitán, is the place on which thousands of refugees converge to receive the food aid provided to them by the Mexican Government every 20 days.

However, the day we arrived in "Pacayales," we could see very few Guatemalan natives. Some of those with whom we spoke told us that the camps were 1 or 2 hours away.

Traveling to Nuevo San Juan Chamula means traveling over a muddy road. Our 4-wheel-drive Subaru vehicle managed to overcome that mass of mud and in some sections under construction with heavy machinery, after a few minutes' wait it enabled us to go through some blocked-off places and thus get back to the unfinished road again.

Traveling to Nuevo San Juan Chamula meant crossing through about 90 km of the Chiapan jungle. In the distance were more mountains, undoubtedly already Guatemalan territory. "Pacayales" lies in a small valley and is where the unfinished road ends. It is impossible to go any further, except by long hikes on foot.

The chief of police in San Juan Chamula told us that 18 heads of Guatemalan families had settled there as refugees and that presently they were not there because they were busy with farm work.

A bridge under construction over the wide Laxantun River is the end of the road. Beyond, in the dense jungle, thousands of Guatemalans wait, a trek of 1, 2 or 3 hours away.

[23 Oct 83 p 20]

[Text] Part II

There is no doubt that the Mexican Government is trying to see after the Guatemalan refugees who have settled almost throughout the Chiapan jungle, but these efforts are proving inadequate because of their large numbers and thus thousands of native Guatemalans are found suffering terribly, lacking food, adequate housing and many of them, both adults and children, are sick.

### Tragic Scenes

In traveling through the Chiapan jungle and finding refugee camps on the edge of the unfinished road, our correspondent observed tragic scenes of native Guatemalans wandering through the thick jungle.

In Nuevo San Juan Chamula, we met several Guatemalan natives: Francisco Bernabe, Pablo Francisco Ramos, Sebastian Ramos and Juan Mateo. The first three were young and the last man was about 40 and quite ill.

"I left the hospital in Comitán only yesterday," Juan Mateo told us, still showing signs of his illness. The young Guatemalan men told us that there are many refugees, the majority from Huxlac, Huehuetenango, in the Poza Rica camp, 2 hours away by foot. They said there are 75 heads of families there. They have lived there for a year and 2 months, when they had to walk one day from their birthplace in the department of Huehuetenango.

They told us that they are laborers, harvesting coffee and corn on jungle farms and common land.

The climate changes in traveling to Nuevo San Juan Chamula, to hot from cool in Tziscão. Beyond are other camps with many Guatemalan refugees: Huxtán, Flor del Café and Monteflor, among others.

#### They Eat Garbage

Once when we were trying to talk with some refugees, two elderly and very sick native Guatemalan women approached a merchant, also a Guatemalan, who had arrived in San Juan Chamula to sell some green vegetables. He carried cabbages, carrots and other greens in a sack. He had piled up the old cabbage leaves next to his makeshift stall and was waiting to throw them away.

But these two Guatemalan women asked him for the garbage, gathered it up and put it in their aprons and, for lack of other food, took it back to their houses.

The Mexican Government is trying to help the refugees, but aid arrives only every 20 days, according to what we were told in the places visited. But recently it has been slightly more than a month since the last shipment of flour for tortillas, rice and beans was sent and provisions have run out in many refugee camps.

#### They Have Housing Problems

Although the Mexican Government has built adequate housing for the refugees in some camps, particularly those near Tziscão, those deep in the jungle are suffering serious problems because of the lack of suitable housing.

In Santa Elena, one of the camps with many refugees, on the side of the road we saw several dwellings constructed with bamboo frames and roofs of palm leaves, very small, with an area of no more than 9 square meters. In many cases, houses are made of cardboard.

Here we met a family that had arrived from San Mateo Ixtatán, Huehuetenango. In disorder, five persons, adults and children, used a rough bed no more than 1 meter wide by 2 meters long for "sleeping."

This is how Manuel Juan Silvestre, his companion María Martín, and their three children live. They are accompanied by Francisco Juan and Eulalia Martín, who live together with a young son. The children are ill with bronchiopulmonary diseases. In the small space, they cook on the floor, eating tortillas and beans.

Francisco Pedro Juan and his companion, Isabela Mateo, live nearby with their three children.

#### Land on Loan

The Santa Elena camps are extensive refugee settlements. One of them said that the land they are occupying is on loan and that they do not know how long they will be allowed to live there.

They continue to go on living. Family heads work on farms and common land, cleaning and harvesting coffee. The aid sent to them by the Mexican Government does not reach them. "We need sugar, salt and soap," one of the native women said, "because the government does not give us that." The corn flour, rice and beans does not reach them. Nor do they receive medical care.

#### Mexican Government Protects Camps

The majority of the Guatemalan refugees in the hills of Chiapas are under the protection of the Mexican Government. The Office of the Secretary of the Interior, through immigration representatives established at various points where the camps are located, has recorded the name of each refugee and each of them has an identification card.

The vast refugee zone is a restricted area and no foreigner may enter it without a special permit from the Office of the Secretary of the Interior allowing him to visit the camps.

If he has no permit, any outsider, whether Mexican or foreign, is stopped by immigration "squads" which hold him for investigation or turn him over to the Office of the Secretary of the Interior.

Tourists may go only as far as the lakes of Tziscaco, where the camps begin. Beyond that, no entry is allowed.

Near Tziscaco, there is a sign stating that entry is restricted because it is an ecological zone. In this way the Mexican Government prohibits entry to the refugee camps, even though it does not say so specifically.

Our correspondent had no problem entering, as he passed through an immigration checkpoint near Montebello, where no document was required either. Afterwards, before the sign explaining that the area was restricted, a worker allowed us to pass, lifting a barrier. He let us pass and we went on. However, in returning to Comitán, when we tried to observe the Aguatinta and La Cascada encampment, perhaps the best settlements, we were stopped by immigration officials.

[24 Oct 83 p 54]

[Text] Part III

Tuxtla Gutierrez, Chiapas, Mexico--It is not known exactly how many Guatemalan refugees have settled temporarily and are wandering through the Chiapan jungle,



but estimates of organizations aiding the refugees are that more than 45,000 live in the diocese of San Cristobal de las Casas.

Reports by the Christian Committee of Solidarity, which is aiding the refugees, state that native Guatemalans have settled in 17 encampments and in more than 50 Mexican communities along the Guatemalan border.

According to the Christian Committee of Solidarity, the refugees are distributed as follows: 6,032 in Tziscac; 10,385 in Paso Hondo; 12,000 in Las Margaritas; 12,284 in Ocosingo, and 11,000 in San Cristobal de las Casas.

Refugees who have settled in Santa Elena, Cuauhtemoc, Huxtán, Nuevo San Juan Chamula, Flor del Café, Poza Rica, Aguatinta, La Sombra, Monteflor, Carmen Xam, El Chupadero, Las Delicias and other isolated communities in the dense Chiapan jungle must be added to the figures listed above.

#### Governor Visited Camps

A few days ago, according to Comitán officials, the governor of the state, Gen Absalon Castellanos Dominguez, visited several refugee camps and spoke with refugees and with officials assigned to watch over them.

The Mexican Government, through the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, has undertaken to provide for the refugees' security and the General Directorate of Immigration, through deputy representatives established at various locations in the Chiapan jungle, is properly registering them. However, when we inquired about data on the number of refugees in some camps, we were not given any figures and were told that because they are under the protection of the Mexican Government, a special permit or authorization from the Office of the Secretary of the Interior was needed.

#### Comitán Hospital Attends to Refugees

The number of refugees is considerable and the general hospital of the city of Comitán has been assigned to attend to the health problems of the Guatemalans. However, due to their numbers and the lack of adequate roads, the refugees remain ill and Mexican Government health teams must travel to the camps to determine the health of the refugees and to make health-care campaigns for their benefit.

Although the Mexican Government's effort to care for the Guatemalan refugees is being felt, their numbers make it impossible for the most basic needs of all to be met. The Diocese of San Cristobal, UNICEF, rural groups and the Christian Committee have also undertaken the difficult job of helping the refugees, but their efforts are insufficient.

#### Special 3-Month Residence Permits

Reports to the Mexican press by organizations providing aid to the refugees state that the Guatemalans are granted a 3-month residence permit which is renewable upon expiration.



Refugees are permitted to work within the authorized camp areas, a situation which limits their incomes, since there is not always work in each region.

Guatemalan refugees, natives of Mam, were hired to work on the recent sugarcane harvest in Pujilic. The Guatemalan labor made it possible for this to be the plantation's best harvest in many years, since 1½ million sacks of sugar were obtained, a larger yield of coarse sugar per ton, and no cane was wasted, since it was harvested in time. The efficient labor of Guatemalan natives, as it has been described, has not displaced Mexican labor; on the contrary, it has complemented it, it is said.

#### Mexico Entering Period of Unrest

In recent months, Mexico, but specifically the state of Chiapas, has entered a period of political upheaval because of the economic problems facing the country.

In the latter part of the preceding month, a large group of tzetal farmers, when their demands were not met by the governor of Chiapas, Gen Absalon Castellanos Dominguez, began a march of more than 1,000 km to the Federal District, where they hoped to meet with President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, to whom they would explain the problems they faced as a result of insufficient land.

A general labor strike has also been announced and more than 6,000 teachers working in the state have scheduled a strike.

This current series of circumstances will result in abandonment of the Guatemalan refugees, who for now are receiving food aid once a month.

#### A Devouring Jungle

The fate of thousands of native Guatemalans is being written in the impenetrable Chiapan jungle. Many are dying for lack of medical care. Mexico is making efforts to see after them, but these efforts are proving to be insufficient.

The Guatemalan natives are surviving in the Chiapan jungle under deplorable conditions. Many still wander through the tangled mountainous region in search of safe locations.

They are afraid of strangers. They hurry off to escape among the ravines. I hope to God the refugees' situation can be resolved, and very soon.

11915

CSO: 3248/113

## AID, ROCAP URGED TO ASSIST TOURISM IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Guatemala City DIARIO EL GRAFICO in Spanish 20 Oct 83 p 30

[Article by Beatris Zuniga Seigne: "Assistance to Central America Through Tourism"]

[Text] The kind of thinking that prevailed in the mid-1960's (and certainly before) regrettably still prevails today. We say regrettably because 20 years have gone by and no progress at all has been made in the direction which many of us consider to be one of the "right" directions toward integration of the Central American region.

Given the present circumstances, it is conceivable that this is the least appropriate time for thinking about initiating an effort to bring about rapprochement among Central American countries. On one hand, this may be true. But on the other, it may be the best time for laying the foundations for a future program of integration through a properly structured plan. The task is far from easy, but it is not impossible.

Currently in the area, there are tourism offices which prefer (for the time being) not to be identified with the region. They prefer to be identified or associated with other regions (such as the Caribbean). Others are carrying out their own promotion campaigns and others are joining forces in one manner or another.

One thing is certain: each of the countries in the area is fully aware of the fact that a joint effort to promote tourism is not only better but almost essential, since the effort is being made with only one or two other countries, or efforts are being made together with other regions (either with Mexico or the Caribbean). Whatever they may be doing, they are aware that unless a united joint front, properly coordinated with its potential markets, is formed, there is little likelihood of any real success.

President Reagan's administration is currently showing an obvious desire to provide assistance to Central American and Caribbean countries. It is my personal opinion, although I may be wrong, that there has been little discussion about possible assistance through tourism.

However, I believe that the Agency for International Development (AID) and possibly the Regional Office for Central America and Panama (ROCAP) could play an extremely important role in obtaining necessary assistance through a program of tourism.

In 1966, ROCAP participated in financing a marketing program intended to attract tourism to the Central American region. The plan was completed and submitted to governments in late 1969. It contained recommendations which should have been carried out within a 5-year period, i.e., which should have been totally implemented by the end of 1974. But 14 years have gone by and I would venture to say that 90 to 95 percent of these recommended actions were never implemented, and those that have been implemented were carried out individually and not as a coordinated and integrated effort.

At the present time, I believe that the success of a program of assistance through tourism depends on determining the tourist needs of each country, finding a common denominator and using it for the possible peaceful rapprochement of our nations. I am still hopeful that this could be done in the not too distant future. A revision and modernization of the former marketing plan would subsequently be advisable.

In Guatemala, for example, we are feeling the private sector's need to have the Convention and Visitors Bureau operate properly. This requires not only the necessary financing, but also a certain degree of technical assistance. Naturally, its aim is to promote Guatemala as a convention site. But the important and attractive feature of involving AID--with a view not only to benefiting Guatemala, but also the other countries in the area--is that AID as such could guide the bureau's efforts in exactly that direction. To be specific, AID would provide assistance to the Guatemalan Convention and Visitors Bureau and would assure that its promotion campaigns include the private sector of other Central American countries in order to enable them to participate as alternative destinations for pre- and postconvention excursions. In fact, the convention and visitors bureaus of other Central American countries could also be the common denominator sought and in those countries without such a bureau, AID would be instrumental in creating them. Other such actions--at the private level--could also possibly be undertaken.

The foregoing undoubtedly represents--especially at this time--a real challenge, but it is not an impossible task. And ultimately, it is something important to be considered. That is why I respectfully request that its possible implementation be considered.

11915

CSO: 3248/113

## CUBAN TEACHERS IN NICARAGUA 10 PERCENT OF TEACHING FORCE

Havana CUBA INTERNACIONAL in Spanish Sep 83 pp 41-43

[Article by Ernesto Bravo: "A Fine Mission"]

[Text] With short brush strokes not bereft of emotion, the author of this article takes us into the inhospitable and remote, but amiable and fraternal world in which thousands of Cuban teachers perform their day's work in spite of the threats and dangers that lie in wait for them. Ernesto Bravo toured Nicaragua with a Cuban Television team that has filmed a charming documentary which aptly bears the title: "A Fine Mission."

"It was under these circumstances that the first contingents of Cuban teachers arrived in Nicaragua, not to murder Nicaraguans, not to destroy, but to build schools, not to get rich, but to work alongside our poor people to help them conquer ignorance; they did not come to teach techniques of torture, but to build blackboards and benches for the schools so that our children and adults might learn to read and write."

Daniel Ortega

The unscrupulous campaigns unleashed against Cuba by the American mass news media are in the habit of presenting Cuban teachers in Nicaragua as "soldiers in disguise." Only thus can we explain the hysteria of the Argentine general who, shortly after the Bolivian Government of Siles Zuazo had announced the launching of a literacy campaign, "visualized" thousands of Cuban combat troops on the Bolivian-Argentine borders.

"Moles cannot comprehend how it is that eagles fly," the Cuban minister of education said to us when we were commenting on those odious campaigns by the enemies of the Cuban Revolution.

If, as Jose Marti said, "teaching is the finest and most honorable thing in the world," what can we say of those who voluntarily go to other countries to teach, to isolated and wild places, often without adequate food, antagonized and with their lives threatened by counterrevolutionary enemies and removed for several years from their loved ones, those who do this for absolutely no remuneration, but only for the satisfaction of having done their revolutionary duty?



We had an opportunity to be in Nicaragua a few months ago and made the acquaintance there of that extraordinary Cuban educator and organizer, Mercedes Alminaque. She was directing the efforts of the Augusto Cesar Sandino Internationalist Teachers Contingent, composed of some 2,000 teachers, half of them women.

We learned from her that Cuban teachers represent 10 percent of Nicaragua's teaching force, a percentage that rises to 60 percent in rural areas; that they take care of 13.7 percent of the elementary education registration; that in 1980, during the literacy crusade, they taught 27,569 people to read and write; that in 1981 they handled a registration of 14,624 adults; and that they have built 1,200 schools. During school recess periods, through volunteer workdays, the Cuban teachers have contributed the equivalent of \$160,000, a sum which they have donated for the construction of a school for the Mosquito Indians in the Zelaya area.

With satisfaction Mercedes alluded to the fact that in one section of the "Memoranda," published by the Nicaraguan Ministry of Education, it is noted: "International solidarity has been very important in the implementation of the government's program, but it is only fair to recognize and place at the top of the list the unconditional cooperation and aid of the socialist countries, although we would not end up being fair if we did not emphasize the disinterested and incommensurable cooperation and aid of the Cuban people and government."

In response to our desire to go to the most difficult spots to be able to appreciate the work of the Cuban teachers, Mercedes showed us the rural areas of Boaco, Chontales, Almendro, Nueva Guinea and El Rama. She warned us that it would be impossible for us to visit the Honduran border area because of the activities of counterrevolutionary bands. And so, on a trip that took us 8 days, we went to the southeastern part of Nicaragua.

#### Tales of Giants and Snakes

We discovered a country of extreme natural beauty, regions separated and isolated from one another that have remained virgin lands, with very humble people often lacking the basic necessities of life as a result of the cruel legacy of Somoza rule. We constantly saw women washing clothes in the many rivers and many, many children working: carrying sacks, firewood and buckets of water, driving cattle or working in the fields.

Several Cuban teachers explained to us that many of the difficulties they have to deal with in their daily work are due to the absenteeism of the children because they have to work. This makes them meet with the parents and insist that they release their children from some of the family chores. It also forces the teachers to make great efforts to get their pupils to make up the time that has been lost.

And how have these towns received the Cuban teachers? All the teachers of whom we asked this question replied that they were very well received since from the start they had the influential support of the revolutionary organizations, the local citizens and also the representatives of the different

churches. They said that every problem was quickly resolved and that the aid and encouragement supplied by the people are something that has already become widespread. In passing, we relate here one of the amusing anecdotes we collected: Adolys Dumois, a teacher in the Nueva Guinea area, noticed a certain amount of absenteeism on the first day of classes. The father of a pupil, who was himself learning to read and write from Adolys, told me between bursts of laughter that the whole thing was due to the enormous weight and height of the teacher, which frightened the children. He also explained to me that Adolys teaches mornings and afternoons and even gives a course for adults nights. "And his affection for and devotion to the children are very great," he told me. And he added: "He's really a giant."

In most of the primitive rural locations where the teachers do their work, they started teaching outdoors (a theme that inspired Cuban journalist Marta Rojas' beautiful book, "The Green Classroom"). Then they looked for places indoors or built schools and stocked them with notebooks, pencils, blackboards, benches and desks thanks to the educational efforts of the Sandinist Government and local citizens.

The counterrevolutionaries are losing hope of severing the bonds of affection the teachers have been able to forge with the people. They make up all sorts of rumors, such as: that the Cubans have come to take possession of their women or property, that they put the men down and other stupid statements of the same sort. A funny episode occurred in a town where they were building a school: To everyone's astonishment, the fact was verified that many old people were in the habit of ridiculously lowering their stated age. This resulted in their becoming victims of the rumor that "the Cubans were killing all the old people." Now the Nicaraguans themselves tell us all these tales amidst laughter.

How did the Cuban teachers succeed in winning over the people? Through an intense effort, through absolute dedication to the mission they were accomplishing, living under the same conditions as the peasants who gave them shelter, participating in hard work during their free time, gaining the love of the children and adults they were teaching and always respecting the religion and customs of the people. As a deputy from Palabra del Senor said to us as he was relating how the teacher in Lourdes Reyes saved the life of a child bitten by a poisonous snake: "The Cubans are the good Samaritans of the Bible."

And speaking of snakes, which are fairly common in these parts, the inhabitants of the town told us that, frustrated because a Cuban teacher did not leave town in spite of their threats, the "contras" [counterrevolutionaries] decided to put a snake in a drawer of her desk to make her look ridiculous. Warned by one of her pupils, she walked out of the school, asked for a machete and, in plain view of the whole class, dealt the snake a sharp blow to the admiration of the children and later of the whole town.

Much courage has also been displayed by some teachers who, warned that the bandits were coming, marched off into the hills and later returned, when the danger was over, to go on with their habitual chores. Some teachers have been kidnaped and others brutally murdered, like Pedro Pablo Rivera Cue, Barbaro



Rodriguez Hernandez, Francisco Concepcion Castillo and Aguedo Morales Reina, today martyrs of the Cuban and Nicaraguan peoples. While the authorities diligently see to the safety of the Cuban teachers, as we saw, the best guarantee is the devotion and protection of the people themselves.

### "Exploits" and Exploits

Our teachers have very much assimilated to the humble life of the Nicaraguans, in the mountains or on the plains, in terms of their manner of speech as well as their habits. We often had to ask them whether they were Cubans to be sure we were not mistaken. They themselves told us about confusions due to language that occurred when they recently arrived. For example, shortly after the lesson began, one teacher said to her pupils: "In a little while [ahorita] we are going to take a break," and everyone got up and left. Then she realized that for the Nicaraguans "ahorita" means "right now," not "soon, in a little while" as in Cuba. A blond woman is called "chela" and, when she has green eyes, "gata" [female cat]. A good person is "linda" [pretty]: On several occasions we heard them say that "the Cuban teachers are 'pretty'."

How many times did we have to leave our jeep and walk a long way on foot, in the midst of pouring rain — another constant hazard of our trip — because the vehicle could not go on! Our "exploits" were dashed to pieces when we compared them with those of the Cuban teachers who walk 6 or 7 hours to attend a work meeting.

The riskiest expedition we engaged in was to visit teacher Justino Padre on Isla del Padre, located in Lake Nicaragua. Going down a river, we passed through a wild area on a tree trunk that served as a boat (on the banks there were enormous trees inhabited by monkeys, many beautiful birds and all sorts of insects) and there we were, worried because we had not reached the lake where in a little while a motor launch was supposed to be waiting for us. Just when the waters of Lake Nicaragua were dangerously pounding us and a thoughtless fellow took it into his head to tell us that there were sharks in the lake, and that they were doubtless aggressive, the fishermen's launch miraculously appeared. They gave us a big welcome on the island and we could appreciate the job being done by Justino, a young man accustomed to city life who had to remain isolated on the island for many months. And he did so willingly. He had built a little school, planted an orchard and helped the fishermen with their chores. The children received us holding up welcome posters and demonstrated immense affection for us.

In Nicaragua we experienced many days filled with deep emotion. We came to feel very proud of the job our teachers are doing there. It is not as if we were not aware of it before we arrived, but what we saw surpassed our expectations. We saw them very much matured as persons and as revolutionaries. They said to us: "We were just children when the revolution was victorious in Cuba and here we are now fully experiencing reality in the native land of Sandino." The counterrevolutionaries are daily trying to make the reconstruction of Nicaragua more difficult, but we observed that people's awareness is growing even faster. The Cuban teachers live united with and fighting alongside these brothers of theirs, carrying out the honorable mission of

eliminating illiteracy and ignorance. We have seen children crying on learning that their teachers had to leave because they had completed their 2-year missions. But perhaps the most moving thing we heard was when someone asked the children what they wanted to be when they grew up and one of them replied: "I want to be like him." And he pointed to his Cuban teacher.

11,466

CSO: 3248/143

## BRIEFS

MEXICO DEPORTS MORE CENTRAL AMERICANS--Mexican authorities continued yesterday to deport Central American citizens, mainly Guatemalans, who have tried to cross the border between the two countries. A new report from the region reveals that 25 more Central Americans were deported by immigration officials in Tapachula, Chiapas, Mexico. According to the same report, the Central Americans were caught in a raid by the neighboring country's immigration authorities. When it was established that they had no identification papers at all, they were taken to the border and turned over to Guatemalan immigration officials. In the last 60 days, Mexican immigration authorities have implemented stringent measures concerning Central Americans arriving in Mexico. Meanwhile in this capital, the Mexican ambassador to Guatemala, Gen Rafael Macedo, has advised anyone traveling to his country to have proper papers and to avoid problems with immigration authorities. The new group of persons deported by Mexican officials included 10 Hondurans, who having been turned over to Guatemalan authorities will in turn have to be turned over to Honduran officials. Immigration authorities in this capital have said that it is useless to warn immigrants against making such trips, since there are organized groups of "coyotes" [smugglers] who trick them, offering to take them to the United States in return for payment, but who afterwards abandon and report them. [Text] [Guatemala City DIARIO EL GRAFICO in Spanish 22 Oct 83 p 3] 11915

CSO: 3248/113

PRIME MINISTER BIRD'S INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS

St Johns THE WORKERS VOICE in English 29 Oct, 5 Nov 83

[29 Oct 83 pp 8, 18]

[Excerpts] FELLOW ANTIGUANS AND BARBUDANS:

It is now two years since our country has achieved the status of Sovereign Independence and consequently of Nationhood. It is now two years that we have consummated the bond of being one Nation and one Family. We have emerged through the process with peace and harmony among our people.

In our domestic family situation we recognise that united effort, mutual respect and peaceful means constitute the most satisfying way of achieving desired domestic ends. Equally in the conduct of the affairs of the Nation we should recognise also that such is the most satisfying and enduring way of achieving desired National ends. For unity is strength, and it is in unity that we shall derive the strength to persevere and prevail against difficulties and obstacles which obstruct the Nation's path to Economic and Social advancement.

Fellow Antiguan and Barbudans, let us therefore together in a spirit of unity and harmony strive to make our Independence an experience by which all of us without exception can enjoy economic and social benefits in more ample terms than we now do.

For its past, the Government has already done a great deal for which our people will experience an even better standard of life than they now enjoy.

In order to reinforce your awareness of our accomplishments and our plans in this regard, I will now relate to you certain facets of what we have done within the past year and are working to achieve within the coming year.

In terms of funds secured from external sources to facilitate the economic development of our country, I can happily report that the Government has available from Lome funding by way of grant in the amount of EC\$13 million which we shall utilise in the following manner:

First, to accomplish the comprehensive refurbishing and repair of the roads within the country, \$6 Million of this \$13 Million Lome grant has been allocated to the Ministry of Public Works. We can therefore look forward to an early commencement of the repair of all our roads.

Secondly, from the said \$13 Million grant, we have allocated \$4 Million to be utilised in Agriculture which will give a substantial boost to our on-going Agricultural programs resulting ultimately in greater food self-sufficiency for our country.

And thirdly, the remaining \$3 Million has been allocated towards the building and erection of additional Factory Shells which will serve to induce more investment in our country's manufacturing sector. This in turn will provide additional productive capacity to bring more of our people into gainful employment and at the same time provide avenues by which our people will obtain the opportunity to acquire Industrial skills which they do not now possess.

Additional funding in the amount of EC \$26 Million has been made available to the Government from a United States source to undertake improvements to our water supply system. The improvement so accomplished will double the country's water capacity. Related to this, we have received from the Government of Trinidad and Tobago funding of \$12 Million for the laying of pipes and other basic infrastructure improvements which will provide our country with a vastly improved water distribution system. Both these developments will prove to be a source of great satisfaction and benefit to the Nation as a whole.

I may mention at this point, my people, that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago has also provided us with funding of \$2 Million to undertake the rehabilitation and enlargement of the Jabberwock Hotel. Work on this project has already been commissioned. Johnson Construction has been com-contracted to undertake the construction. When completed, the Jabberwock Hotel will accommodate guests and will serve as a first rate centre for the training of hotel workers.

Arising from my trip to the Far East, the Government has received from the Republic of China an outright grant of EC \$3 Million for use in the country's development. Appropriate plans are now being worked out; and a team from China is due here shortly to assist in deciding the areas in which the funds should be utilized.

The Government has also decided to take up a previously agreed OPEC Loan of EC \$3 million and has allocated this sum for use in the development of Barbuda.

My trip to the Far East may soon yield additional Economic benefits to our country as a whole, because many of the business leaders whom I met in Hong Kong have expressed a strong desire to transfer their operations to Antigua in view of the uncertain political future of Hong Kong.

The Government now understands that the hard currency problem which affected progress on the Deep Bay Proj has been resolved, and the way now seems clear for the granting of the required hard currency.



There are other funding arrangements available to the Government, some of which I have related to you in my previous address on the occasion of the first anniversary of our Independence.

However, as I explained to you then, before taking up the various funding that are offered we will have to carefully evaluate them to determine their productive nature, job creation capability and self-liquidating capacity.

In this connection, active consideration is now being given by the Government to take up the Loan offered by South Korea for expansion of the Deep Water Harbour and the building at Fort James, Dry Hill of a 400 room hotel.

Funding of \$300 million for a sizeable Tourism-related project has also been offered and careful consideration as to its acceptability or other wise is now being given by the Government.

In this connection, what is good to observe, is the confidence in the Government and the Country which has given rise to so many sizeable loans being offered.

In the face of a prevailing world Economic depression, our country's Economy has proved extremely resilient and has achieved annual increases in Gross domestic product even though the World Bank has reported that our per capita income is among the highest for countries in our class.

Some rather negative comments have been heard about the size of our National debt. But these comments ignore the fact that many of the beneficial developments within our country has been achieved as a direct consequence of the debt that has been incurred on the Nation's behalf. Examples of these developments which have proved most beneficial to the country are (1) The Deep Water Harbour, (2) The purchase of the Sugar Factory with 80 percent of the Land of the country, (3) the power generators which provide electricity for the country, (4) the various housing projects which have provided homes for so many of our people, (5) the Halcyon Cove and the Halcyon Reef hotels which are contributing to growth of our Tourism while providing income and work for our people, (6) the services at the Airport and many others such as the Live Stock improvement, the Fisheries development and the Telephone improvement. Were it not for the boldness and foresight of the Government in incurring the debt involved for those and other important developments, our country and our people would not have been as well off and as well served as they are today. Unless it is to the benefits of the country, the Government does not incur increases in the National debt. In all cases where we do so we know it works to the positive advancement of the Nation. I wonder if the critics would prefer to see stagnation of our country.

Please bear in mind, my people, that as a responsible government we are, nevertheless, taking all necessary steps within our means to achieve the progressive liquidation of the national debt.



[Text]

We are aware of the recommendation of the IMF that there is need for cutback in government spending and their suggestion that this could be partially achieved by the reduction in the number of workers who are engaged in the various government establishments, or the reduction of the number of days which they work and are paid for. But the government is doing its best to repair the situation without imposing undue hardship on those citizens who are involved, and we hope that the citizens themselves will be conscious of their responsibilities and will work conscientiously and productively at their jobs so that government's policy in retaining them in employment under the circumstances may be fully justified.

My people, in the hotel and tourism sector, substantial construction has taken place and is also envisaged.

I have mentioned already the commissioning of construction in respect of the rehabilitation and expansion of the Jabberwock Hotel. Added to that are the construction developments for the Johnson Point Hotel, the Dubary's Hotel and the Michael Hotel at Runaway Bay to be followed and by the extended use and development of the Akerman area.

There is also the construction in respect of the Halcyon Heights Condominium Project and the Condo Hotel Project in the same locality which will be followed by the extension of Antigua Village.

It is anticipated there will soon be a resumption of construction work in respect of the Hodges Bay Club on the North of the island; and in the east of the island there can also be seen other significant additions including the condominium project at Brown's Bay.

Let me now focus attention on certain other areas of performance. With respect to the Antigua Sugar Factory, we are grateful to Jamaica for technical help received. We are now in possession of the report by the Jamaican Technical Experts which show that the Sugar Factory is viable. All that is needed is to increase the cultivation of canes.

As previously announced, the government has implemented plans to achieve the effective expansion and upgrading of the telephone system which when completed will permit direct overseas telephone dialing which will enhance the communications capability of our country and increase its attractiveness as an international business centre.

To meet the housing requirements of our people, government contemplates acquiring some 180 two-bedroom housing units from the Shetland Islands. The Minister of Labour went there to make an on-the-spot evaluation regarding the adequacy of these units and their adaptability to meet our own local housing needs. The report received from the Minister is quite satisfactory. It should be mentioned also that funds have been received by the government for housing and these funds are being handed over to the Antigua and Barbuda Development Bank for the provision of Mortgage Loans to our people.

My people, I am sure you will all agree that every ambitious family wants to achieve a good Secondary Education for the children within the family. You will therefore also agree that by making Free Secondary

*Education and the provision of Free Text Books available to all our children, regardless of family circumstances, the government has fulfilled one of the greatest ambitions of our people, and have by this means provided one of the most enlightened avenues whereby the economic and social advancement of the nation can be achieved. Recent efforts by the government in this regard are the building of new schools at Urlings, All Saints, Ottos and St. John's.*

*On a related point, it should be noted also that an increasing number of scholarships to institutions of higher learning abroad have become available to youngsters to enhance their academic and technical advancement. As a consequence, our youngsters are being rendered better equipped to undertake positions of greater responsibility in our country and to contribute more significantly to the general well-being of the nation.*

*The health of the family is of paramount importance; and no less so is the health of the nation. In this connection, the government has effected significant improvements in our health and medical services with the gratifying results that our people are experiencing better health and health care than they were in former years.*

*The operation of the Medical Benefit Scheme has played a significant role in this respect. From January 1982 to August 1983, the Scheme has expended in terms of medicines, medical treatment, related health services and grants, an amount in excess of \$6 million.*

*Fellow citizens, let me stress again that having achieved our Independence it is extremely important for us to demonstrate in our nation-building efforts that we have the capacity to work in unity and peace towards the attainment of the highest standard of life for our people. This is, indeed, the true essence of nationhood.*

*Please understand, my people, that the Grenada experience clearly shows there is a compelling and most urgent need to guard our Independence zealously so that our cherished democratic way of life and our system of electoral democracy will not be usurped and obliterated by persons with totalitarian aspirations and communistic affiliations.*

*Let us say an emphatic "No" to the adoption of any such totalitarian or communistic forms of government in our beloved Antigua and Barbuda.*

*I now declare officially open the celebrations marking the Second Anniversary of Antigua and Barbuda's Independence. In doing so, I implore you yet again, my people, to strive in unity and peace at all times towards ensuring that our country remains One Nation, One Family. One Happy Nation, One Happy Family.*

*And I implore you further to work with dedication and zeal to achieve that much-desired transformation of our country into a rich and prosperous land where each and every one of the citizens can be assured of a harmonious and wholesome existence, and where all of us will have come to regard each other as one united family working together for the advancement of One Nation - our beloved Antigua and Barbuda.*

*I thank you.*

## WORKERS VOICE BLASTS UPM LEADERS OVER GRENADA STAND

St Johns THE WORKERS VOICE in English 9 Nov 83 p 1

[Text]

George Walter, leader of the U.P.M. party condemned the rescue mission into Grenada undertaken by the O.E.C.S. and the U.S.A. speaking at public meetings at the West Bus Station and Grays Farm, George stunned his audience by declaring that he was not in favour of the action taken by the leaders of the O.E.C.S. in order to stop the butchers from killing more innocent people and to prevent them from performing another Iran with the American students on the island. Some of the persons present were heard to say that George is no different than Austin, so they didn't expect any better from him. While others were heard to say "that is why he and Hector can't get any decent people to join their party."

This man is a complete disgrace to the nation. On the other hand his most recent bed-fellow Hector has attempted to equate the 'bloody' power

struggle in the New Jewel Movement with that of Bird and some of his colleagues in the A.T.L.U. donkey years ago and more recently with his new found pal George Walter and Robert Hall, of course, conveniently forgetting himself, when he exhorted his colleagues in the P.L.M. not to vote for exhorting his colleagues in the P.L.M. not to vote for struggle. George eventually hijacked them both. There was absolutely no violence nor bloodshed. That is the way it is done in a democracy Tim, so please don't mix us up with your communist system, where you fellows kill each other.

Anyway they say that you can be excused, because you are under one hell of a strain since your friends killed your 'better' friend Maurice. They say that you fellows are worried now because V.C. Adams, Compton, Charles etc. can sleep soundly now as long as a President

like Reagan occupies the White House.

Hector is under so much stress and strain that he has sent a cable to the U.N. stating that those members of Bishop's Cabinet who were not assassinated by then and Hector's colleagues are the legitimate Govt. of Grenada. and if it was not for the 'rescue forces' all of them would have been dead by now. But that is not the point. The fact is that Bishop and a few of his colleagues assisted a force of Cubans and forcefully overthrew Gairy who was elected by the people as was the legitimate Govt. Now the butchers have been removed by another force, poor Tim is crying foul.

Poor fellow, he has lost 11 pounds since one Bishop died, another Bishop clapped a \$2000.00 fine on him and yet a third Bishop on behalf of his church welcomed the intervention of the rescue mission into Grenada.

CSO: 3298/195

## BRIEFS

GOVERNMENT-UNION PROBLEMS--The A.L.P. Govt., true to its promise made in its 1980 Manifesto, has introduced the 5 day work week for all Govt. employees? Or is it all? This important change was introduced without consultation with the Unions who are responsible for almost the entire Govt. work force. As a result of this lack of consultation, there are all kinds of awkward situations arising in various Govt. departments, especially the P.W.D. The Union is in the dark as to whom are affected by the 5-day week. Are the non-established workers included? The Govt. Statutory Bodies? The quasi Govt. Dept? Because of the uncertainty surrounding the whole change over, some depts. are implementing it, while others remain the same. In some cases where established workers are supposed to supervise non-established workers, you find that the non-established workers finishing work at 4.00 o'clock, while their supervisors are left without anyone to supervise until 4.30 when he completes his days work under the new hours. We call on the Govt. to call in the workers representatives and have the matter resolved, even at this late date. A stitch in time saves nine. [St Johns THE WORKERS VOICE in English 12 Nov 83 p 1]

PIPELINE PROGRESS--Work on the new pipeline is now in its second week and progressing quite satisfactory. A spokesman for the project says that at present, they are employing over sixty persons, and over the next few weeks it is hoped that this figure would exceed one hundred. The loan for this project was made available to the Govt. of Antigua by the Trinidad & Tobago Govt. This is the same loan which Keithlyn Smith and his cohorts tried to block by sending cables to the late Prime Minister of Trinidad & Tobago, Dr. Eric Williams, asking him not to make the loan to Antigua as the Govt. was shipping arms to South Africa. This loan is now creating jobs for Antiguan from all walks of life. How cruel can some persons be? [St Johns THE WORKERS VOICE in English 12 Nov 83 p 1]

CSO: 3298/195

## ALFONSIN'S WRITINGS PROVIDE ADDITIONAL POLITICAL INSIGHT

Buenos Aires SOMOS in Spanish 11 Nov 83 pp 51-56

[Excerpts from "La cuestion argentina," "Que es el radicalismo," and "Ahora, mi propuesta politica" by President-Elect Raul Alfonsin]

[Text] The failure to acknowledge and overcome mistakes is much more serious than making them. In Argentina in recent times we have all made mistakes. The time has now come to see who is courageous enough to acknowledge and overcome them. This will be the proof of a democratic spirit in which people can dissent, debate and, therefore, admit their own mistakes. The sectors that lay claim to absolute truth wind up imposing their dogma with the help of persecution and prisons....I would like to tell everyone that there will be neither justice nor prosperity in our country without democracy....If we listen to democracy's detractors, however, it would seem that democracy is not entitled to make mistakes. A civilian government has to function smoothly upon birth. It is not given the benefit of the doubt or the chance to improve itself. Minority governments, in contrast, would seem to enjoy this right. Who monitors them? Who corrects them? Who throws them out? Imagine for a moment a civilian government confronting the financial crisis in April and May 1980. How long would it have lasted? If we do not resolve this issue, if the future democracy does not consolidate a power greater than the power of those who are opposed to it, then we will be headed towards another failure. The weakness of democracy and its inability to withstand the attacks of an autocratic minority are also causes of Argentine failures.

We perceived the danger as far back as July 1976 and pointed out in the first issue of PROPUESTA Y CONTROL: "Regardless of its philosophy, the foundation on which the State rests in carrying out its aims is the monopoly of force. Therefore, private violence is illegitimate. This monopoly implies, however, not only that violence outside the State is impossible but also that this must be a single, centralized violence, above and beyond organizational problems. Otherwise, the monopoly is shattered, becomes illegitimate and in a way becomes private, exposing the State to the risk of its own breakup as a victim of anarchy and chaos. What is more, government violence can be excessive and illegitimate and turn out to be more destructive than private violence.



Everyone realizes at present that we are in a struggle, but even in the midst of this struggle the State only discredits itself and weakens its authority by utilizing procedures that are at variance with ethical values without which the institutional structure itself lacks meaning. Our enemy is not, therefore, on the left or the right. It is anyone who contends that the end justifies the means. Those who have believed this are the scum of history and the main culprits in civilization's most serious catastrophes. We repudiate the methods of terrorism without even thinking about its objectives, but we also denounce those who argue that due respect for basic human values can be ignored to wage a more effective struggle...

Whoever travels around the country and speaks with individuals in a wide range of professions and social situations will perceive that apathy and disbelief have taken hold of them. We could say that Argentines are learning to live in spite of what is happening around them. They have developed a "day to day" philosophy because who can tell what might happen tomorrow? They realize that what is good today might suddenly not be, that what is permitted one day might be banned the next. Society ceases to be seen as a source of security and foresight and becomes a source of insecurity and uncertainty. And when this happens, people begin to shut themselves off, to seek smaller spheres of action in which they can foresee events and guard against the insecurity that society has to offer. They thus gradually abandon society to "others." The destiny of the community becomes alien to them, and democracy, which is essentially involvement, loses meaning. Security has today become the highest aspiration of our people. But we are not talking about the security that leads to a better life, progress and moving up in society. No, what people want is the security of survival. All, absolutely all insecurities stem from society's or the State's lack of consideration for man, their failure to respect his dignity and to regard him as the foundation and purpose of any action. Man is thus degraded to the point of becoming a passive instrument of strategies that infringe on rights that not even the law can violate. Having been exposed for some time to widespread insecurity, Argentines have been targeted and wounded over the past decade by a new type of violence, terrorist subversion, which utilizes the cruelest and most repugnant methods to create anguish and chaos, thus evidencing total disregard for man and his dignity. This is terrorism because it seeks to impose itself by engaging in terror. It is subversion, above all, because it subverts human values. Man, the "single, unique and unreproduceable" foundation and end of social life, is reduced to the status of a mere object to be taken possession of. When man's preeminence is subverted and he is sacrificed as a means of taking power by killing and torturing, society itself is threatened in the long run. This phenomenon is not, of course, exclusive to Argentina. The threat of terrorist subversion hangs over various countries in our times. This new and different threat poses a dual challenge to democracy: on the one hand, to crack down effectively on this enemy of society; and on the other (and this is what confers legitimacy on repressive activities), to continue upholding man's rights, values and

guarantees and to remain faithful to the democratic conception of the State, its functions and its ends....But insecurity about their physical integrity is not the only source of fear for Argentines. Their uncertainty also stems from the absence of other elementary rights, such as the right to an education, to health care, to decent housing, to a decent living standard and to participate. This reinforces the vague feeling of being on the sidelines, which more than once causes people to renounce their civic beliefs and the need to struggle and make their voices heard to change the course of a society that is being built without them. It is, in a word, the feeling of being systematically left out.

Human freedom can be achieved only through its exercise. What is freedom but the exercise of freedom? Or is there some sort of freedom independent of the freedom of flesh-and-blood individuals? I know of none. This is an essentially moral and practical issue, not an abstract one. It is moral because freedom is essential to man's dignity. Freedom is the conclusion of all reasoning....But freedom is also practical, useful. It is both a goal and an instrument. In the first place because freedom implies a plurality of opinions and ideas. Needless to say, public affairs problems are too complex to be resolved through a single approach. Does anyone have a monopoly on the truth? We develop the best solutions by comparing different ideas and seeing how they can be combined...Opinions are not only the expression of different ideas; they also represent the varying interests of the groups that make up a society. Therefore, secondly, freedom of opinion in practice becomes a check on those in power.

...We must realize that when peoples do not enjoy their rights and freedoms, their governments lack the authority to call for the rule of law and freedom among nations.

The failure of democracy in Latin America has historically been linked to its inability to solve its most serious economic and social problems. This failure has always exacerbated the distribution conflict, which in the end determined who called the shots that time around. Political parties must be prepared to mediate between the lower classes, whose expectations have been dashed, and the groups that are willing to go along with democratization and that have been unable to make a profit in business, in order to prevent the distribution conflict from cutting short the process of democratization in its infancy. We will need a political-social pact that spells out for a given period the capital formation guidelines for economic reconstruction and the forms of redistribution to satisfy the basic requirements of social justice....Political parties cannot get bogged down in more or less superficial ranting about urgent, partial demands. Although they must always be mindful of the situation at hand and represent the appropriate grievances, they must under all circumstances remain faithful to the deep-seated reasons that lend meaning to their historic presence and clearly take a stand for democracy. Even though despots might not believe it, this democratic stand has a great deal to do with

the defense of sovereignty. In the shortage-plagued world in which we live, the developed countries will seek what they lack in the backward countries. They have already begun to question principles of international law that have so far been peacefully accepted, such as self-determination and sovereignty, particularly in connection with the oil problem. Because of these new requirements, politically underdeveloped countries will be more vulnerable than economically underdeveloped ones.

The problem of worker involvement is particularly important. Moreover, no program can be implemented without their resolute and vigorous support in promoting the indispensable efforts and in overcoming resistance to change. There are several examples that prove this. Before announcing his intention to cut certain social benefits to curb inflation, one British prime minister contended that he was venturing to propose this because he had the backing of the trade unions....When I was in the FRG, I went to Dusseldorf to visit the headquarters of the workers organization. Even though real wages had fallen because of the crisis, the labor federation was not calling for wage boosts because they might make German products less competitive on world markets, which could lead to higher unemployment. I want to stress these examples because of the campaign that has been mounted in relation to what has come to be called union power, a campaign surely motivated by turn-of-the-century nostalgia. But there is another aspect of worker involvement that I would like to analyze. It has to do with their ties with democracy. I mean this in two ways. The first has to do with their own organization, because it is almost absurd to call for democracy and participation when the structure of organized labor hampers the development of democracy and political pluralism cannot be expressed in it. This inevitably leads to a sharp decline in the degree of participation, to a resulting loss of representativity, to a strengthening of authoritarianism and, in the end, to the danger that the system might explode and that extremist opportunism will arise. The attempt has always been made to seduce rightwing factions with the argument that an organization like this prevents the emergence of extremism in organized labor. In my view, the solution is exactly the opposite. What is required is a workers organization that makes possible a united, strong, democratic, representative unionism with the participation of affiliates and rank-and-file organizations and that can consolidate a tolerant and participatory administrative policy.

A union does not begin and end with the legal instruments that provide for its existence and uphold social law. It must be part of a democratic legal and political structure. There can be no democratic trade unions unless democratic practices are strictly observed in their internal workings. There can be no democratic trade unions without the full participation of the workers, without representation and respect for minorities. There can be no democratic trade unions if they are under the yoke of a State ideology or an ideology imposed by a single party. There can be no such unions if they ignore the major political issues affecting the national or international community. An apolitical union is a monstrosity. A union that is a mere political tool is an aberration.

Imperialism has been taking on increasingly more subtle, less coarse but equally treacherous forms. First came "Manifest Destiny" backed by the Marines, the policy of the "big stick," gunboat diplomacy to wipe out any opposition. Later came the insidious mechanism of the transnational corporations to dominate production and condition consumption. Then came the refining of the "major accords" that the ruling powers signed to create the iron-fisted mechanism of the Trilateral Commission, which assigned to our countries the role that best suited its interests and an economic, financial and military function in keeping with its security....We learned in attempting to regain our sovereignty over the Malvinas that our armies were trained and equipped to preserve a security arrangement that we ourselves had not thought up, an arrangement that safeguards the security and interests of others. All of us, civilians and military alike, were aware that they were strong enough to act as a praetorian guard or as occupying armies. They served as a repressive force but in no way to justly defend and opportunely preserve sovereignty. This fallacy was revealed simply by jeopardizing the colonial interest of a major power. The humiliation is a deep wound in the national soul. We have endured it with maturity and resolve, as all our citizens have strongly asserted our sovereignty in every regard, starting with the recovery of the free and untrammelled exercise of popular sovereignty. Our territorial claim must be voiced on behalf of the people. But we will not stop at demanding respect for our unquestionable historic rights to territories that belong to us. We are also determined to coordinate the efforts of Latin American democracy to confront those silent, crafty armies that do not use missiles, that rely on the cunning fifth column within our borders and that consist of the traditional oligarchy that has now taken the form of a financial oligarchy. They have sold us out, and the proof of this is the astronomical amount of the foreign debts of our countries. Venezuela, Brazil, Mexico and Argentina together owe almost \$300 billion. This debt, which is another of our distinguishing features, must be examined, audited and negotiated with input from our countries. It is a question of twisting the swan's neck....That is our historic mission. To tell them that we will no longer be the passive targets of their abuse, to notify them that our economies will not be subordinated to their interests, that the well-being of their peoples cannot keep on postponing the well-being of our lower classes, that our homelands will not be battlefields on which the great powers can face off, that we aspire to be a genuine pole of power in the world.

This generation of Argentines must meet the challenge posed by 40 years of inflation, because this deep-rooted vice must indubitably be eliminated if the nation is to regain its morāl and economic health. The 1970's and what is behind us so far in the 1980's have starkly revealed how high inflation can destroy the well-being of the people and their hopes for peace and progress. We often hear inflation referred to as merely a monetary phenomenon: an excessive expansion of the money supply turns into higher prices. It would be enough, then, to cut the growth of the money supply to curb price increases. Unfortunately, things are not that simple....Nothing will be successful unless it



is accompanied by a tough, austere economic policy, which is always indispensable but which in this emergency must be viewed as a top priority. Such a policy must be applied to all activities, but the real example must be set in the public sector, in which privileges, lavish or superfluous spending, unjustified investments, unnecessary military outlays and improper government activities have no place. This is a major challenge: to turn today's inefficient, deficit-ridden public sector into a modern and balanced administration, which would enable us to allocate greater economic resources (both public and private) for the development of basic industry, culture, health care and scientific and technological research.

The specific function of the Armed Forces is to defend the nation's sovereignty, the constitution and the legitimate authorities. It is not in their nature, of course, to stage coups d'etat. Coups occur only in a few developing countries and are unthinkable in other nations, which are in the overwhelming majority....There is unquestionably a certain relationship between coups and economic failure. The U.S., Soviet, French, Venezuelan, Indian or Belgian Armed Forces would not even understand a question about their staging a coup. In Argentina, circumstances have been favorable to coups. An authoritarian tradition can be found in many officers, but no coups were staged in a vacuum: major segments of the national community always got the jump on the officers in seeking to oust the civilian administration. There is some sort of shortcoming in Argentine military training owing to which officers tend to yield readily to the temptations of power. But civilian structures (economic, social, political and cultural) are also obviously weak, and in the past this has made possible some degree of consensus for coups d'etat....The current structure of the Armed Forces can be improved. The sophistication of modern weaponry and technological gains make it impractical to maintain huge contingents of raw recruits, who are ill-suited to dealing with the problems of present-day confrontations. One party's argument that the professionalization of the Armed Forces poses a danger to democracy is easily refuted: in Argentina we have not had Armed Forces based on professional officers, and this has not warded off a permanent threat to democracy. In short, there are those who want our military to be ineffective. We want our Armed Forces to be efficient and concerned about the major problems of modern warfare....Professional soldiers are best suited to deal with the situation today. It is obvious, however, that we must achieve this gradually, starting by transforming certain combat units into highly specialized units. We can then begin thinking reasonably about reducing compulsory military service, which does not rule out its replacement, at a given point, by a specialized professional format.

In conclusion, we must realize that whatever solution we adopt to these problems, it will not be a permanent answer unless we make a determined effort to rebuild our national educational system, which is formally proclaimed to be democratic and egalitarian but which in practice is inequitable and unfair. There will be no real democracy



as long as major segments of the population are denied the opportunity of a minimum cultural background....Democracy must promote culture and education; in fact, it needs them to survive.

...In 1972, power was like a hot potato; it had to be handed over quickly to civilians. The military could no longer risk its unity or image by staying in power. But the institutional break had exacted its toll, and we could not return to square one. There was no wiping the slate clean. Argentine society was not the same. There had been sweeping changes: organized violence was emerging in our country. One of the first actions with which it burst on the scene was the kidnapping and subsequent assassination (still not sufficiently cleared up today) of Lieutenant General Aramburu. This was the same man who had once stated: "Violence is the result of a social ill. When the people are not listened to and are not involved in the government, when they are assigned a completely passive role as mere spectators and when economic anguish is added in, violence is provoked." But things were not that cut-and-dried. This was not just violence. No, its emergence and form could not be explained merely as a response to "violence from above." No just cause would take such immoral form. That violence quickly showed its true nature: a systematic contempt for the values and causes that it claimed to defend. On the one hand, a hardline, messianic Far Left was disdaining democratic channels for coming to power and claiming to represent the interests of the oppressed classes; its representativity was soon proven nonexistent. On the other hand, the former heads of the nationalist Far Right had now come, with the faith of converts, to tell the country about the ideals of socialism. No argument could halt these inquisitors and crusaders of a new order. The intensification of the conflict was their watchword, contempt for life their philosophy, death their method. Some day we will find out what these people really wanted, these people who were responsible for dragging down our youth, denied as they had been every possibility of expressing their ideals and struggling democratically for them. Thus, in 1970, after 4 years of Armed Forces rule, Argentina entered one of the bleakest decades in its history. Violence, torture and death took hold in our country.

The affirmation of cultural identity is one of the keys to the liberation of peoples, but the latter is enlivened through contacts with the traditions and accomplishments of others....In the face of a purely economic, consumption-oriented approach to social change, we must argue for the advantages of a different approach, one that emphasizes the full realization of the individual and, at the same time, protects man from the invasion of standardized products from the culture industries of the imperial centers....Cultural change must be served by the mass media through the language of sincerity, which conveys a desire to understand the world as it is and to transform it. They must reject the language of manipulation, which always deceives, the language of the various forms of authoritarian government, which delights in secrecy and impenetrability and always conveys fear, suspicion and

despair as to mankind's ability to deal with disagreements and conflicts.... We must realize that man under a democracy means man living in freedom and that democracy is not possible without a free flow of information, which entails the right of all men to inform themselves and make themselves heard. "There is only one way to make democracy work in the conduct of each citizen, socially, provincially and nationally, and that is to keep the people informed about what is going on. There is no crime, there is no untruth, there is no ruse, there is no deceit and there is no corruption that will not endure amid secrecy," asserted Joseph Pulitzer, the founder of unfettered journalism in the United States.

...We can trace the idea of the ballot box, of constitutional legitimacy along another path that has existed throughout the history of Radicalism: the independence of the State....What does the independence of the State mean? It means that the State cannot subordinate itself to foreign powers, cannot subordinate itself to international financial groups and cannot subordinate itself to privileged local groups either. Private property plays a fundamental role in the development of peoples, but the State cannot become the private property of economically powerful sectors. The oligarchy always tends to think that the owners of companies or money should be the owners of the State. We have seen this once again in recent years. Communists, in turn, feel that the State ought to be the owner of companies. We Radicals feel that the State should be independent, neither the property of the wealthy nor the owner of the means of production.

By creating a specific field of action for disputes, the ballot box enables them to be resolved peacefully, and by conferring upon the State its only imaginable legitimacy, it promotes the continuity of republican institutions and the doctrines on which they are based. Argentina has seen to what extent violating the people's right to choose their leaders has always led to the surrender of some degree of sovereignty to other countries, to unemployment, poverty, immorality, decadence, improvisation, the trampling of civil rights, violence and disorder. Democracy is the only admissible political system today. Authoritarianism is not only contemptible from an ethical standpoint; it is also ineffective.

Suffrage has several meanings. On the one hand, it enables the people to govern and the State to be independent. On the other, it sets ground rules for achieving legitimacy, inasmuch as the people cannot express themselves on their own, and so-called "spontaneity" never really exists. Casting their ballots is the people's way of choosing their leaders and representatives. They cannot elect them by rioting. Violence cannot be the regular way of bringing about change....In an increasingly interdependent world, suffrage guarantees Argentina's place as an independent nation, whereas violence of one or another stripe prevents a country from taking its place in the world or turns it into a theater of operations in which the actors lose their initiative and the State, therefore, loses its independence. For example, we

could imagine an armed struggle that would abolish the system of private property. The government leaders who suggested this armed struggle would have to seek the backing of an international group; it would be impossible for the country to shift from one social and economic system to another diametrically opposed to it without an alliance with nations that are much stronger than Argentina and that, therefore, would tend to subjugate it. So then, the people would no longer decide whether the government that emerges from the armed struggle would remain or not; that would depend on an agreement (or lack thereof) at the superpower bargaining table...

Brute force does not confer legitimacy. Thus, even though they are supported by some monopoly capital, rightwing dictatorships also wind up isolated in the world and are inevitably doomed to failure, as we can see throughout the Southern Cone. The supercapitalists might make temporary use of rightwing dictatorships, but they inevitably have to let them fall in order to maintain the ground rules....Because of the unpredictable nature of dictatorships (which wind up becoming an end in themselves and seeking any alliance to survive), they are always short-lived. No government has ever survived by force alone....The violence of rightwing or leftwing elites justifies itself through the definitive, final and absolute triumph of one ideology over another, of one class over another. The Montoneros had no intention of setting up a dictatorship, of establishing their own order without grassroots involvement, for just a brief period. And Pinochet did not come to power in the Republic of Chile to govern for just a few months. When one kills thousands of people, one is thinking about ruling forever, not just for a fleeting moment.

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## PRESIDENT-ELECT'S CABINET MEMBERS PROFILED

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[Text] Grinspun and the Economic Staff

The men who will run the economy under Alfonsin enjoy the president-elect's utmost confidence and friendship. The economy minister, Bernardo Grinspun, and the minister of public works, Roque Carranza, wagered their political destiny on Alfonsin's success from the moment that they joined the group that founded the Movement of Renovation and Change in late 1972 in the city of Rosario. "The appointments in this area, as in the rest of the cabinet, were not fortuitous. They are the result of several years of joint efforts in the task forces of Renovation and Change, which were coordinated, in fact, by Grinspun," a Radical youth activist asserted Tuesday night. "Grinspun will be continuing this task in the Economy Ministry, programming and coordinating the work of all of the secretariats in the economic sphere, which will also be run, except for agriculture, by men who have long been members of the Radical Party and especially of the Alfonsin faction."

Grinspun joined the UCR [Radical Civic Union] at age 14, and now, at age 57, he will be assuming the most difficult and thankless task: straightening out the Argentine economy. He is one of the economists of the party closest to Alfonsin, and his economic connections in Europe are regarded as a key element in renegotiating our foreign debt. By other accounts, however, his contacts on recent trips to the United States and Europe were political, in line with the Radical view that arrangements must be government-to-government.

Grinspun has been involved in banking in recent years. He was a trustee of the Banco San Miguel, which is headed by Miguel Concepcion, another member of the Radical economic team and reportedly a candidate for president of the Banco Nacion. The new minister has become famous for his outbursts of anger, for his categorical judgments on any political or economic issue and for his frequent verbal clashes with the press.

"Radicalism is interventionist, not statist," is what he usually says when asked about the future government's approach. He then adds: "We want a government that does not meddle in people's lives but that instead regulates relations. We do not want a government with an enormous belly that is unable to move. We want it to be responsive."

The minister-designate was secretary of commerce under Arturo Illia and boasts that he did not set a single ceiling price during his entire term in office, except in the case of medicines. ECLA-trained, Grinspun, like Enrique Garcia Vazquez and Roque Carranza, acknowledges Raul Prebisch as his ideological mentor. Of all the men in the cabinet, Grinspun is said to be among those most strongly opposed to appointing individuals with any ties whatsoever with the military government, and this is why he has made some enemies within the UCR.

The new minister favors an exchange rate set by the Central Bank, an overvalued dollar to promote exports, reining in excessive money supply growth through a strict (but not restrictive) policy for the production sector, and higher business profits and real wages by cutting financial costs and reforming the tax system.

#### Carranza's Belt-Tightening

The new public works minister is a somewhat gruff individual who speaks deliberately and is not given to voicing his opinions lightly. He usually supports his arguments with precise statistical data. Along with Conrado Storani, he will have to decide rates policy. Carranza has asserted that we will have to tighten our belts in 1984, adding this clarification, however: "There is a difference between tightening your belt when you believe in the policy-makers and tightening it when you don't. This is an essential detail."

Carranza is an industrial engineer, served as secretary general of the National Council for Development (CONADE) under President Illia and gained great prestige as a planner when he served as a UN consultant in Honduras, Panama, El Salvador, Peru and Venezuela. He celebrated his 64th birthday in the midst of a campaign swing.

#### Garcia Vazquez: A Connoisseur of the Economy

A PhD in economics, 67-year old Enrique Garcia Vazquez, the future president of the Central Bank, is a great conversationalist and an affable man who enjoys expounding on economic topics. He has served on several occasions in government. In 1956 and 1957 he was an adviser to the Argentine Embassy in Washington and from 1963 to 1965 he was vice president of the bank that he will now head.

To Garcia Vazquez, "the country's fundamental problem is the demonetizing of the economy, which means the absence of liquid savings and a high velocity of circulation. We will have to strive to reduce the number of financial institutions and their branches. There are currently too many of them for so little savings, and therefore costs are very high. We must encourage mergers among these institutions, expanding their capital and setting down clear-cut ground rules."



Sticking to his metier, Garcia Vazquez has said that "we must bring back order and moderation to a system that is presently completely distorted and Kafkaesque. Deposits were in effect nationalized and have no multiplier effect because in practice this effect has disappeared, and there is no incentive to attract deposits."

Some circles around Buenos Aires commented that the new head of the Central Bank would have some health problems (a common heart ailment that can be easily and quickly taken care of, they said) but that they did not stand in the way of his appointment.

#### Storani the Wit

The man appointed to head the Energy Secretariat has been a harsh critic of military governments. He held the same post under the Radical government from 1963 to 1966 and remembers his clash with Central Bank officials over the renegotiation of the SEGBA [Greater Buenos Aires Electrical Services] contracts. Although he has criticized the oil exploration contracts signed under the most recent government, he is not opposed to the participation of private enterprise in conjunction with YPF [Government Oil Deposits]. He is also described as strongly favoring the construction of Yacyreta and Parana Medio.

A cordial man with a typical Cordoba wit, Storani reportedly (CLARIN, 5 November) had a brief talk with Raul Alfonsin at Araoz Solanet's ranch in Ayacucho:

"Have you made a decision about the Energy Secretariat?" the president asked him.

"First of all, I want my convictions respected. Otherwise, I would rather remain in Congress. I also think it would be a good idea to call it the Ministry of Energy and Fuels instead of a secretariat."

"So you're taking the Energy post. We'll take a good look at whether to call it a ministry....But you're going to be part of the cabinet."

Storani had this to say in speaking with SOMOS: "My first measure will be to study, with a team that I have already set up, electricity and gas rates and fuel prices, because on the basis of our explanation the people are going to know what our policy is going to be. Unfortunately, with the high inflation that we have in Argentina, rates and prices are linked to the economy and cannot become unrealistic."

He usually says this about Alfonsin: "He was the only one who grasped Cordoba's concerns, which were always much more dynamic than the concerns of Radicalism in the capital." During the administration of Juan Carlos Ongania, when political parties were banned, Storani struck up a close relationship with Alfonsin at the underground meetings of the UCR National Committee.

### Lacerca: No to Price Controls

Carlos Lacerca, the nominee to head the Industry Secretariat, belongs to the business group led by Livio Khul. An industrial engineer, he was an active university student leader and eventually headed the Engineering Students Center, called "La linea recta." It was for this reason that he was jailed during Peron's second term.

Lacerca advocates neither price controls nor understandings. A pragmatist, he is also convinced that Argentina's employment problem can be solved only through an effective industrialization program, especially in the interior.

In speaking with SOMOS, he clearly delineated the differences between a "haphazard" (de facto) government and a constitutional one. "When there is an unpredictable system, it is impossible to think about an effort like industrial development, which can never be measured in periods of less than several years and sometimes in decades. So, business now gets the message. I don't know whether we'll be prettier or uglier, but I do know that this is the start of a period of predictable governments under which everyone will know what to expect and the ground rules are also predictable."

### Campero and Reca

For Commerce, Alfonsin chose Ricardo Campero, Storani's son-in-law and an Alfonsin backer from the beginning. He belongs to the young Radical group that developed in the universities, in his case, Rosario, where he received his master's degree in political and economic sciences. He is currently the manager of the Leather Industry Chamber.

There was more coming and going, in contrast, in Agriculture and Livestock. Initially, Carlos Contin, the former head of Radicalism before Alfonsin's victory at the party convention, was repeatedly mentioned for the top job. The Entre Rios leader encountered strong resistance, however, and was finally replaced by Lucio Reca, who is regarded as an expert in the field and a man with extensive experience in agricultural matters both at home and abroad. Contin then announced his retirement from active politics. [Gabriel Grinberg]

### Mucci: Union Democratization

When the appointment of Jose Antonio Mucci was made public, observers agreed that it was an example of how Radicalism has opened up to the workers. The 60-year old Mucci, who worked for 25 of them in printing, is the first labor leader to head the Labor Ministry under a Radical government. The time he spent in the Buenos Aires Federation of Printers (1957 to 1963) and his term of office in the CGT [General Confederation of Labor] are still remembered today, and more than one of his former colleagues cites him as an example of honesty and uprightness: "When he celebrated his 25th anniversary working in the same spot, he refused

a medal because 40 of his fellow workers were being fired. A few days later he joined them," someone who worked with him for a long time recalled to SOMOS. He is a staunch Radical, and many recall his first steps in the traditional socialist school of the printers union. As of 10 December he will occupy a manifestly key post on the government roster. SOMOS spoke with him to find out what his plans are for the Labor Ministry.

[Question] In recent days there have been rumors that the government wants to promote the creation of another CGT to counterbalance Peronism...

[Answer] That is a self-interested rumor. Under no circumstances do we want to create party unions. Our view is that there should be a single CGT, inasmuch as this is part of the mentality of Argentine workers, who after all are the ones who have to decide on what kind of organization they want. But to have a single CGT, all workers have to be represented, regardless of their ideology.

[Question] How can that be achieved?

[Answer] If we hold rank-and-file elections to choose factory delegates, who then go to the union, then to the federation and finally to the CGT, various shades of opinion are obviously going to be expressed. Not all workers think alike in our country. They group together basically to defend their professional interests, not their political creeds or ideas. Of course if you want a partisan CGT within a democracy, then you are creating encouraging the sympathizers of another party and a third party to do the same.

[Question] Rogelio Papagno and Diego Ibanez recently gave notice that they would oppose any change in the trade union organizations...

[Answer] What those gentlemen are saying is that everything has to stay put. Why was the election held then? Why did we opt for democracy? We could have left that to the military. If they are true leaders who are recognized by the rank-and-file, then there is no reason for them to have problems validating their posts. They will feel much more at ease because they will be leaders under a democracy, not leaders who owe the extension of their mandates to a military dictatorship. We are not going to take away anyone's right to be a leader; we are going to give that right to everyone. The situation has changed, and we were not elected with eight million votes to give our blessing to the mess that the dictatorship has made of things.

[Question] Might this not create stumbling blocks in your relations with Peronist leaders?

[Answer] I have lengthy union experience and I worked for many years together with them. Our relations were entirely cordial, and many of them have even been friends of mine. I see no reason for this to change.

[Question] Now that we are talking about the ministry, this has been an atypical one in recent years. How would you define its role under democracy?

[Answer] Its role will be to establish the golden rules of democracy. The philosophy of democracy is equality of opportunity. We are going to enact democratic laws, and the workers will have to do the rest. Clean elections without pressures are a tool. We will thus have pluralist unions led by their most capable and honest people, in other words, the true champions of the workers. [Daniel Cecchini]

#### Caputo: An Image Without Cosmetics

If an official is to be judged by his academic background, this fellow is excellent, a political observer commented last Monday on seeing the curriculum vitae of the man whom Raul Alfonsin has chosen to conduct his foreign policy. Dante Caputo's academic background is awesome indeed. He received his doctorate in political sociology from the Sorbonne, his master's in political science from the Universidad del Salvador in Buenos Aires and his bachelor's from the Institute of Higher Latin American Studies in the University of Paris. He also took courses in international relations in Tufts and Harvard universities in the United States and is a former professor of economics and engineering in the Universidad del Salvador in Buenos Aires.

Caputo returned to Buenos Aires in 1972 to begin his teaching career, and it was then that he joined the UCR. "But it was not until April 1976 that I began to be an active member alongside Alfonsin. Those were difficult years," he told SOMOS.

A resident of Villa Urquiza (where he was born), married and with three children, he quickly became part of Alfonsin's inner circle. His mission was to explore the political panorama and draw up long-range strategies.

Smoking is his only vice. He speaks good English and French. He laughs when reference is made to his age (39) and he is described as the junior member of the future cabinet. As to how he took his appointment, his response is political: "When you are an active party member, you're prepared for anything." He is straightforward, however, about what he thinks the constitutional government's priorities will be: "We have to build, not rebuild democracy in Argentina, because the people have no political memory of democracy."

His favorite topic is foreign affairs, however. He talked with SOMOS about how he plans to carry out his mission.

[Question] What are going to be the main lines of Argentine foreign policy?

[Answer] We are going to rebuild the country's image overseas, and we feel that we are in the best possible position to do this. We are

not going to have to apply cosmetics to the country. The military dictatorship wanted to enhance the country's world image, but what was going on inside the country was at odds with this. In contrast, our foreign policy is going to be an outward reflection of what is happening inside Argentina. If we seek to reestablish domestic peace, we are going to have the qualifications to call for world peace.

[Question] What will the Radical policy be towards the issue of the nonaligned movement and ideological barriers?

[Answer] I would say that there shouldn't be ideological barriers in terms of commercial interests. The fact is, however, that we are part of the West. It is also a fact that we are part of the nonaligned movement. But note well: we are part of the nonaligned movement but we are not in favor of using the movement in such a way that it winds up being aligned in one form or another.

[Question] What will relations with England be like?

[Answer] Our position in this regard is very clear. No country renounces its territories for any reason. World history is full of examples of how countries have defended their territorial integrity. The country cannot and must not abandon any part of its territory. We will obviously press our claim through a strong diplomatic offensive.

[Question] Will there also be a diplomatic solution to the Beagle problem with Chile?

[Answer] This problem ought to be settled as soon as possible. Our position on this matter is clear and final as well: we accept the pope's proposal, except for one essential point, the principle of two-ocean division. [Jorge Vidal]

#### Troccoli: Freedom and Security

A group of friends, fellow party members and newsmen were waiting last Tuesday in the anteroom to Antonio Troccoli's office at 700 Uruguay for him to receive them. In the meantime, his secretary kept on answering phone calls and saying: "Mr Troccoli is busy; call back in 15 minutes." A few calls made it through, however. If he's this busy as a minister-designate, what will it be like after he takes office, wondered one of his colleagues.

Troccoli's appointment as interior minister was received without opposition in political circles both within and outside the UCR. Many recall his smooth contacts with the entire political spectrum (with Peronism in particular) when he was named president of the Radical congressional bloc. It is also known that he has good relations with most Peronist governors-elect.



Troccoli's road to Balcarce 50 was not an easy one, however, nor has his political career been easy. In private he likes to talk about his former career as an attorney. "I would run down from Lanus to Moron to handle the cases that I got, which were not many, because there were well-known law firms in that area that snatched them all up," he told SOMOS recently.

A staunch follower of Ricardo Balbin, he was with him throughout his career. After the Radical leader died, he and Juan Carlos Pugliese founded the authentic Balbin faction, which set them apart from the National Line.

He has held only two elected posts (national deputy from 1963 to 1966 and from 1973 to 1976) in his 58 years. He also taught political economy in the La Plata Law Department. Nominated third vice president of the UCR after the convention, he gave his backing to the Alfonsin-Martinez ticket and spoke in the towns in which the candidates were unable to. "It was thrilling to see the UCR rostrum surrounded by people even in the most remote towns," he admitted to SOMOS.

Now his work will be different, though. All of the problems having to do with freedoms, personal security and federalism will wind up on his desk starting on 10 December. SOMOS thus wanted to interview him and find out what he thinks about these issues.

[Question] What is the first thing that your ministry is going to do regarding the machinery of repression?

[Answer] Dismantle it. Citizens cannot be considered suspicious just for walking down the street and they cannot be arrested for insignificant traffic violations.

[Question] How are you going to dismantle certain agencies such as the Superintendency of Federal Security, which has been accused of engaging in political repression instead of performing a police mission?

[Answer] By removing the people responsible for that policy. Police personnel will quickly be placed in service to democracy, I am certain.

[Question] Who will be in charge of the battle against a renewed outbreak of subversion or terrorism? A special force like the one announced by Dr Alfonsin?

[Answer] Yes. It will be a highly trained force that will go into action only if such outbreaks take place. The rest of the police forces will devote themselves to their specific functions.

[Question] There are rumors that the chief of police will be a retired general. Is that true?

[Answer] No. The chief of police will be a policeman. There are two or three candidates for the post as of now.

[Question] Is one of them retired general inspector Gettor? His name has been in the news a great deal lately...

[Answer] I know to whom you are referring. People have spoken well of him to me. But so far no decision has been made in this regard.

[Question] What will your ministry's political tenets be?

[Answer] It will have three fundamental tasks. The first is to become a ministry of freedom; the second, to become a ministry and law, order and security, and the third, to become the advocate of Argentine federalism. [Jorge Vidal]

#### Alconada Aramburu: The Reform

The post of education and justice minister is not new to Dr Carlos Alconada Aramburu. When his name began being mentioned as one of the president-elect's cabinet ministers, some people with good memories recalled that during the last Radical government Dr Arturo Illia had entrusted him with the same post. His appointment did not come as a surprise to those who know well how Raul Alfonsin thinks. Both in the area of education and justice, Alconada Aramburu (63 years old, an attorney and related to Alfonsin through their children's marriage) was a strong critic of the military from the very beginning of the process. With less than a month to go before he takes office, the future Radical minister outlines for us his objectives.

[Question] Why have the Justice and Education ministries been combined again?

[Answer] There can't be more than eight ministries under the constitutional government. There were two alternatives: Interior and Justice, or Education and Justice. It is our feeling that Justice should not be associated with the political ministry. We feel that it is more honorable to combine Justice with Education.

[Question] What will be the makeup of the next Supreme Court?

[Answer] For some time now, regrettably, the nation's justice system has been caught up in politics. We are going to start a new trend [next 2½ lines truncated] We are going to seek out the finest jurists, without distinction as to [word cut off].

[Question] What will you do with the amnesty and antiradicalism laws?

[Answer] We will annul both and establish appropriate means for defending democracy, democratic means. One of them is the judicial police.

[Question] What will you be aiming for in the Education Ministry?

[Answer] To establish a grassroots educational system, which is necessary for democracy. Without grassroots education there can be no serious thought about economic development and social progress.

[Question] And what about higher education?

[Answer] We are going to return to the university reform, to autonomy. That is, shall we say, the genuine cultural background of the republic. I feel that the leadership classes should be selected at the outset, not when they have already been trained [words missing] only certain segments get into college. This means that we do not have [words missing] a leadership class; the oligarchy has it. We want an open university.  
[Daniel Cecchini]

#### Neri: Revamping Social Benefits

It was during the time that he spent as a rural doctor in Los Menucos, a small town in the southern part of Rio Negro Province, that Dr Aldo Neri began to familiarize himself with the field in which he is today one of the country's leading specialists: social medicine. Back in the Federal Capital, he taught public health and social medicine for 9 years in the Department of Medicine of Buenos Aires University. He decided to resign in 1977 "because I found that the university had become an inhospitable place for teaching these subjects." His work as a consultant to international organizations (the Pan-American Health Office, the OAS and the World Bank) helped to strengthen his calling, which also found fertile ground in political activism. The recently appointed minister of public health and social action is 53 years old and is married to Mabel Blanco, who is also a physician and a specialist in social medicine ("She is also an active Radical, which has made life together easier," he asserts). The following is a summary of our talk with him.

[Question] How was it that you became part of Dr Alfonsin's team?

[Answer] In 1972 I had the opportunity to meet Raul Alfonsin and I found that the Renovation and Change Movement was an excellent vehicle for expressing my concerns. The ties gradually became permanent, and I even sat on party commissions. We toured the [words missing] all the time, but especially during the most recent stage of the opening [words missing] worked enormously.

[Question] It was also during this most recent period that you published your book "Health and Politics." What was the main reason you wrote it?

[Answer] I wanted to emphasize the need to [words missing] medicine and social concerns with politics and with [words missing] a serious

analysis of our reality with a [word missing] economic, anthropological [word missing]. Writing this book meant to me regaining confidence in forward-looking ideas, some of which in [word missing] context would have simply been [word missing].

[Question] That future has now become [word missing]. How will you deal with [word missing] instruments such as the health care budget, which according to a statement from the Medical Confederation of the Argentine republic, dropped from [word missing] in 1977 to 2.2 in 1982?

[Answer] Well, those are figures for the president.

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CSO: 3348/71

GOVERNOR MENEM OPPOSES LABOR ASSUMING KEY PARTY POSITIONS

Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 5 Nov 83 p 10

[Article: "Menem Will Propose Changes in the Justicialist Movement"]

[Test] Carlos Saul Menem, governor-elect of La Rioja, stated that he will propose "changes in the leadership of the Justicialist National Movement" and said that in his opinion top-level party positions "must be held by politicians, not by trade unionists."

In a clear reference to the job of the first vice president of Justicialism filled by Lorenzo Miguel, Menem said that he believed that "the movement's top-level function must be fulfilled by politicians, and from there on down there may be trade unionists and all that is necessary for a good leadership."

The La Rioja leader spoke in the metropolitan airport, when he arrived from a flight from his province. On this occasion he said that he had come in order to propose changes in the leadership of the movement."

It Is Everyone's Responsibility

Menem said that he does not share the opinion of those who hold only Lorenzo Miguel and Herminio Iglesias responsible for the electoral defeat of Peronism in the 30 October elections.

"I do not share that opinion: I mean that it is everyone's responsibility, and when one talks of labor union power breaking all bounds, it is the fault of the other sectors of Justicialism," he emphasized.

He repeated previous ideas that "the party leadership must think about providing for the cost of restructuring and reorganizing the movement."

He stated that in the event that he is appointed to fulfil leadership functions in the Peronist movement, he will accept the offer.

He denied that he was the only one to make a self-criticism after the electoral setback. "Perhaps I was one of the first to sound the alarm, but there are many who now have done so."



He said then that "more than a victory for radicalism, this was a very good election for Dr Alfonsin, and our blunder will serve to cause us to carry out necessary experimentation, so that within 2 years we will regain our lost territory."

#### In La Rioja We Embraced Each Other

In referring to the extensive victory of Peronism in La Rioja, Menem said that "it merits the title of the capital of Justicialism, but he explained that "not only did we gain a great deal, but we provided an example of democracy, which must be accepted as a symbol by the rest of the country, because once the conflict was over, both radicals and Peronists embraced each other for the greatness of the fatherland."

Concerning the message of congratulations from Isabel Peron to Raul Alfonsin, Menem said that "knowing the senora, I know that courtesy does not leave the valiant; therefore, I believe that that telegram was real."

Concerning the role of trade unionism in the future of Peronism, Menem said that "it fulfils a fundamental role; it is the spinal column of the movement."

"Without any detriment to Justicialist groups," he explained, "the top level, the presidency and vice presidency, must be in the hands of politicians, and from there on down there may be trade unionists and all that is necessary for a good leadership."

8255

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CHARGES, COUNTERCHARGES REFLECT CONTINUING PERONIST DISUNITY

Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 5 Nov 83 p 5

[Article: "Debate Continues in Justicialism on Political Strategy"]

[Text] The National Justicialist Council will review its future strategy beginning Monday, during a meeting that will be attended by Italo Luder, Deolindo Bittel, and the candidates for governor, whether they were elected or not, who believe that there will be another outbreak of criticism against some of the leaders deemed to be most responsible for Sunday's electoral setback.

According to Justicialist sources, the meeting could be even harsher than the one held last Tuesday and Wednesday, in which Lorenzo Miguel made the accusation that he was "betrayed," with respect to the candidacy of Herminio Iglesias.

The document that was made known publicly after the meeting reflects 25 hours of deliberations and substantial modifications of the initial draft, according to what was leaked out.

It is also believed that Luder will have to answer to various charges, including one that mentioned his "having converted the Justicialist National Council into a silent guest of his electoral campaign."

The sources indicated that Luder managed the campaign "in a personal manner, calling in trusted persons without taking the Council into account," but explained that the party leadership "accepted Luder's judgment without protest or opposition."

During last Tuesday's meeting, the candidacy of Herminio Iglesias for governor of the province of Buenos Aires was harshly criticized. In answer, Lorenzo Miguel said: "Everyone knows that I was not in agreement, because I said so at the time, but I was betrayed."

### "Committee of Notables"

With regard to the future activity of the Council, Carlos Juarez, the future governor of Santiago del Estero, proposed the creation of a "consultative committee of notables."

According to some sources, Juarez proposed that the committee consist of Angel Robledo, Raul Matera, and Antonio Cafiero, among others.

The initial wording of the document that was issued last Wednesday contained the idea that there should be a statement saying that the people had made a mistake in turning their back on Justicialism.

However, this opinion was rejected by Ricardo Perez, who said that "one cannot think that the people are right when they vote for us and that they are wrong when they do not vote for us." After that statement, he expressed deep disagreements with Lorenzo Miguel.

Perez, leader of the truck drivers' sector and a member of the CGT-RA and of the Group of the 25, called for an end to an old style of Argentine politics which the people regard as a bore," and asked that "the skirmishes be settled."

### Other Opinions

Other leadership members thought it would be a good idea for the Justicialist Party to place greater emphasis on its defense of human rights, and mentioned the possibility of having the bloc of Peronist deputies join Christian Democrat Augusto Conte in his next parliamentary demands.

The [chequeno] Adam Pedrini harshly denounced the conduct of Carlos Spadone, political secretary of the Council, for having praised Francisco Franco's regime.

To this Spadone replied that he had praised the "order" of that regime, but not Franco, nor his policy.

The councilors considered it a "gross error" that the disciplinary committee had not heeded the demand for a sanction against Alberto Ottalagano when he publicly declared his adherence to fascism.

Deolindo Bittel also came into question because his "stubborn opposition" prevented the realization of a frontist policy of Justicialism with other parties.

#### A Juvenile Group

About 50 members of the young people's wing of the dissolved Iron Guard engaged in a lightning demonstration in front of the metropolitan Peronist headquarters to demand that "Lorenzo Miguel resign" and warned that if he does not do so, "we will kill him."

The demonstrators also accused the vice president of Justicialism of "betraying Peron and Evan Peron," and indicated that "we already have another leader," whom they did not identify.

The demonstration took place a little before 2100 hours, at the end of a press conference that had been convened in the headquarters of the metropolitan council, 915 Ayacucho Street.

Slogans were shouted from outside the building, at the same time that the party leadership was deliberating. The latter will issue a statement today, in which it will announce its position regarding Sunday's electoral result.

The council is planning to also include in that document guidelines for an eventual party reorganization.

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LABOR POSTELECTION EVENTS PUNCTUATE INTERNAL DIVISIONS

Union Deliberates

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 4 Nov 83 p 10

[Text] As a result of the crisis caused by the electoral defeat of Justicialism, trade unionism is actively debating its position, since it is faced with having to decide whether or not to place its trust in the political leadership that is headed by Lorenzo Miguel.

Proof of that is seen in yesterday's decision on the part of the CGT-RA [Argentinian General Confederation of Labor] to postpone until next week the joint meeting that was scheduled with the 62 Associations.

This was done after an evaluation of the prospect that an immediate debate could end in fracturing that trade federation, owing to the strong arguments concerning Miguel in the internal sectors that are demanding the resignation from the national party council of members they hold responsible for the electoral setback.

The meeting scheduled for today had been announced the day before yesterday by the head of the CGT-RA, after a meeting with Miguel and some of his allies in the 62 Associations. This caused surprise, since the majority of the members of that trade union federation had decided on Tuesday to consider the matter of the electoral result from their own individual viewpoints.

On Tuesday the executive council of the CGT-Azopardo will deliberate and, in the opinion of trade union spokesmen, it might propose that trade union unity be expedited, by separating this matter from the political crisis of justicialism, which would mean removing it from the influence of Lorenzo Miguel and from that of the 62 Associations that have managed those proceedings up to now.

One of the ways for the labor federation to remove itself from the political-labor arm of Peronism, headed by Miguel, would be to postpone the designation, with regard to the 62, of the representatives of the five Azopardo affiliations that have just been incorporated into the executive board.



At that Tuesday meeting, the Azopardists would establish their position--that unity is the "No 1 priority."

In addition, the Committee of the 20, one of the internal groups of that federation that deliberated yesterday, will defend the position of the CGT-Azopardo to turn away from the internal political discussion of justicialism, since several of its members--for example, Luis Etchezar (Brotherhood) and Ramon Baldassini (Telephone-Postal)--are not Peronists. Also it will ask that there be a formal announcement stating that a Peronist political sector was lost in Sunday's elections, but not the workers.

#### The Metallurgical Workers

According to labor union sources, the committee of the Metallurgical Labor Union met, presided over by Lorenzo Miguel, but at intermission time it decided to continue the meeting until next Tuesday, without making any decisions.

The meeting discussed labor issues having to do with arguments that have arisen within Peronism against the party leadership that is headed by Miguel, and it was attributed to the design of the latter to gain control of his association.

It was also tied in with the leaks that were published yesterday concerning some leaders, like Gregorio Minguito (Vincente Lopez), who would leave the temporary committee before the end of the month, if Miguel does not resign from the general secretariat.

#### Censure

The newsmen of Channel 11 of the Federal Capital censured the verbal attack against their Channel 9 colleagues by the first vice president of the Justicialist Party, Lorenzo Miguel.

"We believe that just when the country is beginning to experience its so longed-for freedom and democracy, these attitudes counter one of the greatest values of civilized coexistence: freedom of the press," said the television Channel 11 newsmen, who signed a statement concerning this matter.

#### Trade Union Meeting Suspended

Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 5 Nov 83 p 5

[Text] Another sample of misinformation from the directive bodies of the CGT-Brazil and the 62 Peronist associations was demonstrated in the failure to hold the joint meeting announced for yesterday at 1000 hours on the premises of the first of those entities, Brazil-1482, by the CGT-Brazil secretary

general, himself, Saul Ubaldini, during Wednesday's meeting.

As a consequence of versions that denied the holding of that joint meeting, we asked for information the day before yesterday from both trade union sectors. The CGT, until night time, told us that "there was no decision to the contrary," and one of the members of the executive board of the 62 told us at 2030 hours that "the meeting will be held at the scheduled time, or at the most one hour later, that is, at 1100 hours yesterday.

#### Seven Trade Unionists

A little before 1000 hours yesterday Saul Ubaldini, secretary general of the CGT-Brazil, arrived at the premises of Brazil-1482. He went to his office on the third floor of the building. A few minutes later the following arrived: Jose Cladera, (loading and unloading), Omnis Lux D'Angelo (banking), Celestino Blanco (textiles), Amadeo Nolasco Genta (Policemen), and Raul Folla (graphics), who said only that "the meeting has been postponed." Later, Ubaldini's secretariat reported that the meeting would take place on Monday or Tuesday morning "at the latest." The secretary general of CGT-Brazil did not make any statements on this occasion, either.

#### Previous Meetings

It was established in the same quarters that section meetings are still being held and that the adjournment of yesterday's meeting was due to an intransigent position on the part of the "verticalist" sector or former "Committee of the 25," represented by Roberto Garcia (taxi drivers), Ricardo Perez (truck drivers), and Jose Rodriguez (mechanics) among others, regarding the possible resignation of Lorenzo Miguel from his labor union duties. This intransigence may account for further informal section meetings being held in the next few hours for the purpose of trying to find a "conciliatory formula."

#### In the CGT-Azopardo

The different sectors that make up the CGT-Azopardo also held informal meetings to consider the situation, especially with respect to taking steps toward achieving unity with the other federation and the acceptance of the building at 802 Azopardo Street. Essentially, it was ready "to publish a statement in the next few days and to hold a meeting of the executive council next Tuesday at 1000 hours, at a place to be determined." It turned out that all the sectors decided to favor "maintaining a prudent adjournment until there is a clarification of the situation created in the CGT-Brazil and the 62 Associations as a consequence of the events that are already known."

## Why One Should Intervene

Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 2 Nov 83 p 12

[Text] Saul Ubaldini, secretary general of the CGT-RA, stated yesterday that "before intervening, it is necessary to know why." He was referring to a question at a press conference concerning the intention of president-elect Raul Alfonsin to intervene in unions. When the journalist who questioned him explained to the labor leader that the purpose was to convene those entities to elections, Ubaldini said that "a convocation to elections is not a reason; if they speak of democratizing, they must respect trade union democracy."

The head of the CGT-RA had expressed these and other opinions before entering the headquarters of that labor federation where he participated in a stormy meeting of the executive council. There was an analysis, among other topics, of the position to be supported by the CGT-RA in the face of the defeat of the Justicialist Party in last Sunday's general elections.

The matter that was unofficially circulated in the last few hours concerning alleged interventions in at least some labor unions was tackled by other labor leaders.

Cesar Loza, secretary general of the United Trade Union of Argentine Port Workers (SUPA), proposed that next year, when the Professional Associations Law of the constitutional government is ratified, new elections be held in the port, since "I do not fear," he said, "the verdict of the ballot box."

Loza, who was elected head of the labor association on the basis of elections according to current legislation--prescribed by the military government--thus implicitly came to the crossroads of those versions of possible interventions to propose that elections be held in all of the labor associations, even in those that have already held them.

The longshoremen's leader was questioned before a great number of that sector's workers who, in response to those statements, manifested their entire support for the work that he is carrying out.

Roberto Garcia, secretary general of the taxi drivers sector, was also asked about the version of possible interventions. He indicated that "that would be the worst thing that could happen to the country at this time."

Garcia said that "if we are beginning our journey through democracy, which has cost so much, I do not believe that anyone is in a position to be able to think of intervening with labor unions."

He stated that "we must try by every means to go along this path all together and if the page of history turns back and there is a return to intervention

in labor unions, I believe that that is not prudent, because there must be legislative bodies that will handle the matter of labor union law."

Finally, Roberto García said that "I do not believe that anyone has enough power to interfere with labor unions, because there would also be a violent response; and I do not believe that anyone is in a position to sow hatred in the country."

8255

CSO: 3348/56

## REACTIONS DIFFER TO U.S., REGIONAL ROLES IN GRENADA

## Attack on U.S. Rationale

[Belize City DISWEEK in English 28 Oct 83 pp 2, 3]

[Editorial]

[Text]

**T**he United States invasion and occupation of Grenada is a brutal, unjustifiable act of war against a small black country that posed no threat to the US nor to any of its citizens. This gross violation of the sovereignty of small Third World nation is against international law; it violates the most sacred principles of the United Nations; it goes against the basic tenets of the Commonwealth, the Organization of American States, the Non-Aligned Movement and Caricom, all of which organizations Grenada belonged to.

The US intervention, moreover, poses grave dangers for the entire region of Latin America and the Caribbean, indicating as it does not only the readiness of the US to continue its long history of military intervention in Latin America, but also its willingness to expand this intervention into new areas. Grenada is the first black, ex-British colony, Commonwealth country in the Caribbean to be invaded by the United States. It will not be the last.

Reagan's clumsy efforts to justify the invasion cannot be accepted. It is clear that at no time were the lives of US citizens in danger. A US envoy who accompanied a British representative on the island two days before, confirmed that their citizens were safe, and all reports from these citizens themselves, as well as Canadians there, confirm this.

His other motive, to "restore democracy" in Grenada, blatantly reveals his interventionist policies. Does the US claim the right to invade any country it does not deem to be democratic? When, in circumstances many times worse than the barbarous act committed in Grenada, the President of Chile, most of his Cabinet and thousands of his supporters were murdered by a fascist military coup, the US did not intervene to "restore democracy". No, because then the US had engineered the coup, and



had endorsed the brutal murders, tortures and human rights violations that continue to this day, ten years after.

Reagan's final justification, that he was responding to "a unanimous plea for help", is a complete perversion of the truth. From the day after Bishop was murdered, Reagan, sensing his opportunity, sent messages to Caricom states suggesting that they "invite" the US to invade. Many leaders went to the Caricom Summit in Trinidad last Saturday already knowing that an invasion was inevitable. Jamaica's Seaga and Barbados' Adams, in particular, tried to browbeat the Caricom Summit into endorsing an invasion. To their credit, Bahamas, Belize, Guyana and Trinidad & Tobago refused to go along with this criminal plot. The US acted against the advice of Britain, leading member of the Commonwealth, and refrained from consulting Canada, the largest Commonwealth country in the hemisphere.

The US then resorted to the expediency of getting the small states that form the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States to ask the US to "join" them in an invasion, and Jamaica and Barbados joined the pact. Most of these states sent token forces of about ten men, and the invasion magically became a "multilateral Caribbean force". Needless to say, none of these stooges took part in any fighting. Reagan even subjected Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica to the indignity of tugging her off to Washington in time to face a press conference with him and endorse the invasion as it was occurring. The action of those Caribbean states that endorsed the US invasion of a brother Caribbean country will condemn them in history. They will live to regret it yet.

The truth is that Reagan's invasion had nothing to do with saving US lives, nor restoring democracy nor responding to a call for help. Ever since the Grenadian revolution swept away the Gairy dictatorship in 1979, the US has tried to overthrow the regime, because it dared to pursue an independent line and work in favor of the interests of the people. The US, in fact, carried out a dress rehearsal of the invasion of Grenada as far back as 1981 (see story on page 13), and carried out a number of aggressive acts against Grenada. Seaga and Adams also shared with Reagan a hatred for the Grenadian revolution in general and Bishop in particular. They must be enjoying the irony that they were finally able to act against Bishop's people by using his murder as an excuse.

Reagan, not a man to miss a trick, was also sure to use the opportunity to hurt his mortal enemies, the Cubans, where it hurts. His decision to have the invading forces attack the Cuban construction workers is a despicable and vicious act of international banditry. The heroic resistance put up by the Cuban workers against impossible odds will go down in history as an example of solidarity and dignified resistance to attack. The full repercussions to this US atrocity are yet to unfold.

The US invasion of Grenada is nothing but a blatant example

of Reagan's preference for the use of force over negotiations as a means of solving disputes or problems. It was totally unnecessary: US citizens could have safely been evacuated by negotiations; the people of Grenada could have been left to deal with Bishop's murderers, as they would surely have done. But Reagan wanted to fulfill his dream of repressing and totally subjugating the Grenadian people. He wanted to serve notice that the US is prepared to impose its will by force. He wanted to sow the seeds of fear in all peoples of the region: tow our line, or face our wrath.

This is indeed a sad moment for our Americas. The "Grenada solution" will become a model for future aggressions. Already the Central American countries are poised to follow the pattern. They have called a meeting of the Central American Defense Council and of Central American Presidents, excluding Nicaragua, to discuss the situation in the region. The next step will be for them to "invite" the US to join a multilateral force to invade Nicaragua and "restore democracy" there. And who's next? Guyana? Belize?

For the people of Belize, there can be no question as to where we stand. Our very existence depends on respect for sovereignty, non-intervention, non-interference, the non-use of force and self-determination. We must resolutely condemn this invasion that violates all these principles, and call for the immediate withdrawal of all US and foreign troops from Grenada.

#### Slap at CARICOM

Belize City DISWEEK in English 28 Oct 83 p 7

[Column "Krohnology" by Stewart Krohn]

[Text]

**O**ctober 25, 1983 will go down as a dark day in the history of the Caribbean. It will be remembered as such, not because 2000 US Marines invaded the tiny island of Grenada, but because they did so with the encouragement and military assistance of a handful of Caribbean nations who should know better. Barbados, Jamaica, Antigua, Dominica, St. Lucia and St. Vincent: Shame on you.

To watch Ronald Reagan get up on US television and try to bamboozle the American public was almost laughable; to see Eugenia Charles as his "local color", however, bordered on the disgusting. We can only be thankful that George Price was not so fool.

What happened in Grenada? A marxist-inspired revolutionary government experienced a violent split in its ranks with the result that the radicals took control. In the process, they appear to have brutally murdered a popular Prime Minister, several members of his cabinet and an unknown number of their supporters.

That the junta led by General Hudson Austin has now been deposed can only be greeted with relief, if not glee, by the citizens of our fellow Caribbean democracies. Yet by instigating a foreign invasion to meddle in what was exclusively a Grenadian affair, the six above-mentioned states violated a basic tenet of international law, not to mention one of the foundations of the regional integration movement. In doing so, they may have dealt the final blow to CARICOM as an instrument of political stability.

Had there been an urgent need to protect the lives of their citizens on the island, one could be slightly sympathetic, but, Mr. Reagan's flimsy pretext notwithstanding, there has been no evidence that any foreign residents were in danger. The fact is that with so many formidable enemies — The US, Cuba, Great Britain, CARICOM . . . — virtually the whole world — the Austin-led government's days were certainly numbered. CARICOM, having considered joint military action, took the more prudent step of totally isolating the outlaw regime. With thousands of supporters of deceased Prime Minister Bishop still on the island and foreign pressure against the new regime building up rapidly, a diplomatic solution to the crisis was not so far off. Instead the Caribbean demonstrated all too clearly that it is incapable of solving its problems without resorting to neocolonial intervention.

The temptation to rid the neighborhood of an ideology they did not share proved too great for Seaga, Adams, Charles and the rest, and besides, they might even be rewarded with a few Yankee dollars. Nor could President Reagan resist the opportunity to demonstrate to the Cubans, Nicaraguans and Soviets — at an extremely small risk — that the Communists are not the only ones who know how to play rough.

Wouldn't it be interesting, if when elections are eventually held, the New Jewel Movement once again emerges as the Nation's dominant political force. And what if they call back the Cubans to finish the airport? What will Mr. Reagan then tell the mothers of the dead Marines? And what will Mrs. Charles have to say the next time she rubs elbows with her fellow "peacekeepers" in CARICOM?

#### Praise for Intervention

Punta Gorda TOLEDO STAR in English 30 Oct 83 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] NOW THAT the USA and Jamaica & Barbados are completing the job entrusted to them by the staunch Eastern Caribbean States, we are hearing about a peace-keeping force to be sent to Grenada by member states of the Commonwealth led by Britain.

Naturally, these members of the Commonwealth will want to take some of the merit when Grenada holds elections and democracy is restored. But we should not forget that it was the O.E.C.S. and their Leader Eugenia Charles of Dominica and US President Ronald Reagan who moved in time, and saved Grenada from becoming a full communist state.

And we should take a good look at countries like the Bahamas, Trinidad, Guyana (and our own PUP Government Leader) who vacillated and using that famous rhetoric of "non intervention in the internal affairs of other states" etc, would have allowed Grenada to succumb to a Marxist-Leninist ideology, and for the exportation of subversive groups, arms and ammunition to neighbouring countries and thus de-stabilize democratic Governments in the region.

Commonwealth nations like Canada and Britain should have been more concerned with what was taking place in Grenada, instead of criticizing the USA and its move to restore democracy in that land.

#### Christian Democrats' Reaction

Punta Gorda TOLEDO STAR in English 30 Oct 83 p 5

[Article by Dr Theodore Aranda (CDP)]

[Text] THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (CDP) supports the action of the United States-Organization of Eastern Caribbean States in securing the survival of representative government in GRENADA and security in the OECS region.

In Grenada, the traditional value of representative government was violated, OECS security threatened, recognized leaders executed, government taken over by force, alien ideology was being imposed, and the Governor-General of Grenada requested the OECS to seek military assistance from the U.S.A.

Democratic organs should not just stand by and watch democracy destroyed by agents of foreign ideologies.

#### Support for Price's Stand

Belize City BELIZE SUNDAY TIMES in English 30 Oct 83 p 2

[Editorial]

[Excerpt]

There is no doubt that Belize has made the right decision in opposing the invasion of Grenada. It was not a matter of taking sides, it was a matter of doing the right thing for Belize and Grenada in keeping with our commitment to certain principles that we consider sacred.

There is no doubt that the invasion had the effect of prolonging the fighting. More lives were lost, more suffering was brought upon the Grenadian people and the situation became more volatile. This

is why the Belizean people support the Government's decision. Because it was fair and just.

The fact that there was a rebellion in Grenada does not give the right to any country to invade, especially when it is clear that the invading forces were not invited by the Grenadians.

There are rebellions and coups in the region quite often, there was one in Guatemala three months ago and no one invaded the country. The invasion of Grenada was an open and flagrant violation of the human rights of the Grenadian people, and it was contrary to the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states, the non-use of force and respect for the right to self-determination.

#### Radio's Subservience to VOA

Belize City DISWEEK in English 4 Nov 83 p 5

[Text]

**R**adio Belize is a shame and a disgrace to our nation when it comes to the reporting of regional and world news.

It's biased, one-sided accounts are taken straight out of the Voice of America, the radio station that the US government openly admits using to present its own viewpoint and to engage in psychological warfare.

A Newsweek report of 31 October 1983 states that "under the Reagan administration, VOA no longer reports the news objectively", and quotes a VOA reporter as complaining that "The best propaganda the United States could mount is credibility, but I think we are not doing this."

Yet Radio Belize announcers parrot what they hear on VOA as if it were the gospel truth, indisputable and sacred. It's bad enough when they transmit VOA live; at least we know where it's coming from. What is shameful is when RB announcers themselves voice the VOA

propaganda, giving it the stamp of approval and credibility.

When, as in the past two weeks, this is done to justify -- and even glorify -- the ruthless invasion of a small Black Caribbean Commonwealth country, it becomes a national disgrace. By so doing, they are going against our vital national interests, as well as ignoring the official government position, which was against the invasion. In a case such as this, RB has the duty of at least presenting both sides of the arguments. At stake here, too, is the larger right of our citizens to judge for themselves, a right which can only be guaranteed by objective and even-handed reporting in accordance with the principle of freedom of information.

Talking about freedom of information, readers should note that the SPEAR declaration condemning the invasion was turned down by the Amandala newspaper, even as a paid advertisement.



#### UDP Declaration

Belize City DISWEEK in English 4 Nov 83 p 9

[Text] The Opposition deeply deplores the tragic events in our sister Commonwealth Nation of Grenada resulting in the assassination of the Prime Minister, some members of his Government and other citizens.

With regard to the military intervention now taking place in Grenada, we believe that the people of Grenada should be given the opportunity to decide their own future in accordance to their views as to what constitute their best interest.

For that reason the Opposition strongly endorses the call of the Secretary General, Sir Sridath Ramphal that a Commonwealth Peace Keeping Force should replace the United States Troops now in the Island of Grenada.

We further urge that Canada, as the senior nation of this hemisphere, should play a leading role in such peace-keeping mission.

If such a commonwealth peace force is set up, we suggest that Belize be involved, even by the token presence of a few Belizean Soldiers.

Mr. Speaker, it is my belief that all Belizeans would wish to see Grenada set once more on the course of true parliamentary democracy, in such manner and under such leadership as the Grenadians themselves may wish.

#### Barbados-CIA Link

Belize City DISWEEK in English 4 Nov 83 p 4

[Excerpts]

**W**ith incredible timing, the Caribbean Contact, the regional newspaper published by the Caribbean Conference of Churches, has a story in its October issue about the Barbados Defense Force (BDF).

Opposition Democratic Labour Party (DLP) leader and former Prime Minister Errol Barrow charged that the BDF was being trained by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and that the government had been stockpiling medical supplies for the military in apparent war preparations.

Prime Minister Tom Adams denied the allegations, but on the charge that the CIA was helping train BDF soldiers, Adams' response was limited to: "So far as I know, the Cen-

tral Intelligence Agency is not a military organization." Barrow asked Adams whether he was not aware that the CIA provided training for the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and also for the Contras in Nicaragua.

The DLP led widespread public criticism of government's decision in 1979 to send troops to St. Vincent to put down a Rastafarian rebellion which Vincentian policemen dealt with in little more than a working day.

The Adams government has never denied the charges that the BDF provided military support to Dominica during a 1981 attack on police headquarters there and that a Barbados coast guard vessel was stationed off St. Lucia during the days prior to the May 1982 general elections.

Barbadians and others are, therefore, questioning the Barbadian role in the East Caribbean Joint Security and Defense Agreement with Antigua, Dominica, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. The proponents of the pact asserted that it was primarily for fisheries' protection and to catch smugglers. But recently Antigua's Prime Minister Vere C. Bird said that the pact is designed to prevent the overthrow of governments in the region.

[Editor's note: The above is adapted from the Caribbean Contact Report,

published long before the recent events in Grenada began to unfold. It is perhaps ironical that the use of the joint forces, even as a sad masquerade for US forces, was precisely to overthrow a government and attack a people. It becomes clear now, after the shameful action of the BDF and other sham Caribbean forces that were used to cover up the US invasion, that not only was the BDF indeed being trained by the CIA, but that it exists as little more than a lackey and agent of US imperialism.]

### Value of Nonintervention

Belize City DISWEEK in English 4 Nov 83 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text]

**F**or any Belizean who puts the interests of Belize and Belizeans first, there is no alternative but to oppose and condemn the invasion of Grenada by the United States of America and to demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the invading forces. Anything less will compromise the principles on which our very survival depend. We can't afford to abstain.

With every passing day, the justifications put forward by Reagan for the invasion are exposed as lies, misrepresentations and fabrications. With regard to the need to save US lives, the Canadians have blown that one by complaining that they were in fact stopped from evacuating Canadians the day before the invasion — not by the Grenadians, but by the US agents in Barbados. They naturally conclude that the US did not want the world to know that foreigners could leave freely, as this would have taken away the only justification that international law might have recognized. In the event, say the Canadians, their nationals' lives were put in danger only by the invasion itself.

With regard to the subsequent charge that there were a thousand Cuban soldiers on the island, that they had stockpiled massive amounts of arms there, that the airport was a military facility, that the Cubans were poised to invade themselves . . . all these have already been revealed as complete lies and attempts by Reagan to justify the unjustifiable. Even the United Kingdom government has continued to insist that the existence of a "communist" presence in a country does not give another country the right to invade it.

As these facts emerge, and as it becomes more obvious to everyone every day that the US planned the invasion long ago and was only waiting for an opportunity to do it, the international con-

demnation of this criminal act grows and intensifies. The US had to use its veto at the UN Security Council when 11 members voted to condemn the US, three abstained, and none voted against. The question has been moved to the General Assembly, where a massive condemnatory vote is expected. In forums all over the world, the US aggression is being condemned.

What should be Belize's position in all these forums? We know that the US has tremendous, indeed frightening, powers within our country. We know that it is a powerful neighbor, and we desire the best possible relations with them. But our survival is at stake. If we condone, even by silence, the unjustified invasion of a small Caribbean country by the US, we are in principle saying that it is OK for them or some other country (e.g. Guatemala) to invade Belize. The principle of non-intervention is indivisible. We can't say it is good for us but not for Grenada.

In the circumstances, to abstain is to say we do not feel strongly about non-intervention. We recall how hard we fought at the UN to cut down the large number of abstentions, mostly from Latin America, and get them to fully support our right to self-determination and non-intervention. In the end, we won the support of all these countries, despite their friendship with Guatemala. Are we now going to face the UN and the Non-Aligned and say that, in this much more serious case of an invaded country, we will abstain? Even from a selfish point of view, let us remember that we are still threatened, that we will still need the support of all these countries. We will not want any of them to abstain if Guatemala invades Belize!

Apart from government's position, however, we the people of Belize, have a duty to our country and to our region to firmly support self-determination and non-intervention, and resolutely condemn the US invasion. Here, more than ever, we the people cannot afford to abstain. As a people, and on vital issues that affect us, we tend to abstain, we refuse to get involved and take positions. This is dangerous. Let us stop abstaining. Let us take a stand. The most important stand now is: US INVADERS – GET OUT OF GRENADA!

## GOVERNMENT CHARGED WITH MAKING CONCESSIONS TO U.S. OVER CBI

Belize City THE BEACON in English 5 Nov 83 p 11

[Text] MUCH has been said about the ten million U.S dollars that Belize received from the Reagan Administration under the so-called Caribbean Basin Initiative. In truth, Belize made a bad bargain. The concessions government made to the U.S.A. are worth much more than the paltry sum of ten millions. Surely the Belize Government has got more than it is telling the people. Why the cover up?

We know that Belize struck a bad bargain because of testimony before the joint meeting of the Sub-committee on Inter-American Affairs and the Sub-committee of International Economic Policy of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Of particular interest to Belize is the paltry sum which it received under the plan - \$10 millions as opposed to \$128 millions to Salvador.

The supposed tariff policy changes are more apparent than real. Histor-

ically some 90% of Caribbean goods enter the USA free of tariff. An important exception is sugar. Yet sugar will be subjected to some kind of control.

The United States continue to supply jeeps and trucks and other military equipment to Guatemala without using its influence to get her to relinquish her false claims against our territory.

In this connection "the Administration actually increased its estimated funding for El Salvador and Guatemala, demonstrating the Administration's view of the importance of these countries to U.S. interests in the region."

The U.S. Administration actually argued that the plan would actually increase Caribbean imports of American goods and services in the long run.

The CBI committee actually insisted that CBI beneficiaries accept control over their potential expansion of agricultural exports.

The U.S. insisted on strict "steps to interdict illegal drugs."

It is on this point that this government sees its big payola in the making. The U.S must be satisfied with the burning of the marijuana fields. Government need provide no further evidence of its intention of the matter. Yet, they have taken the unprecedented step of proposing legislation to avoid trial by jury in marijuana cases. The USA could never have gone as far as to make this a condition precedent to CBI laons. This must have come from the Belize Government. At a later stage when the Belize Government extends trial without a jury in other areas it would then accuse the USA of accepting it in marijuana cases and therefore forestall American objections in other areas. The Yanks would then be bundled neatly as a conspirator to the take-over with all its evil consequences.

Yes, the price of CBI is much, much too high for Belize to pay.

CSO: 3298/186



## GOVERNMENT ACTIONS RESISTING POLITICAL CHANGE CRITICIZED

Belize City THE BEACON in English 5 Nov 83 p 6

[Text] BELIZEANS of whatever political hue had better beware. We are living in serious times and only deliberate action of Belizeans can save the day.

Three things are crystal clear: (1) The people of Belize have had enough of the present government and want to change it. (2) The government is very conscious of this fact. (3) Yet no one believe that a government which has enjoyed power for more than 30 years will stand idly by and let the people change them without resorting to violent reactions. To understand these self-evident facts is to be in a position to make the change the people so ardently desire.

What actions is the government taking? There are two. Firstly, they seek to take away trial by jury. Belizeans have been fully informed about the danger of this proposition. The Bar Association in an unprecedented step has told the world that it will oppose this threat will all the considerable influence at its disposal.

We note in passing that at the Magistrates' Court level, Justices of the Peace may preside over these courts.

We can think about enough party hacks who would accept appointment to the Bench without jury, to do the bidding of the party. There would be no jury to stand between the accused and the prison.

Then there is the proposal to give powers of arrest to the Belizean Army. This is an equally ominous proposition. It is a dangerous intrusion into the Belizean scene. It is frightening.

Let us recall that recently, the Belize Defence Force, arrested in middle street, a senior member of the Bar in obviously specious trumped-up charges. The courts found that there was no justification for these charges. The point to note is that the BDF, without powers of arrest, had already been making arrests. What would they do if they were to be given these powers by law?

The trend points to a serious and dangerous situation. The dictatorship is no longer making pretences. The iron curtain, like Winston Churchill said, is fast descending.

CSO: 3298/186

## PRICE HIT FOR FLEXING PUP'S LEFTIST MUSCLE AT MEETING

Belize City AMANDALA in English 4 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] BELIZE CITY, Thurs. Nov. 3

The Society for Promotion of Education And Research (SPEAR) drew a huge crowd to the Bliss Institute tonight for their panel discussion on the Grenada invasion.

Panelists included PUP Health Minister Assad Shoman, Lawyer Wilfred Elrington, and Dangriga based Mrs. Cynthia Ellis Higinio. The chairman was Mr. David Price, who, despite his name, is not a member of the royal family but rather a UWI graduate in history who is of Indian extraction.

The audience included a significant executive delegation from the Orange Walk branch of the leftist United General Workers Union, various bourgeois intellectuals, and radicalized youth and students, primarily Sixth Formers. (In the absence of the lumpenproletariat, it has to be surmised that this group is either BLOOD or for sale to the highest bidder.)

There were also present many unidentified whites, presumably foreigners, and some of the general membership of the People's United Party. (Right wing PUP observers departed early.)

The SPEAR discussion, publicized by the use of PUP loudspeakers and personnel this afternoon and featur-

ing sophisticated PUP amplifiers and tape recorders tonight at the Bliss Institute, has to be seen as only the most recent of Prime Minister George Price's attempts to use Assad Shoman as a left wing lightning rod.

(You must admit that Shoman's presence tonight presupposes the consent of the Prime Minister.)

Price's purpose, as we see it, is basically twofold. In the first case, by flexing the muscles of the left wing of the PUP, Price is serving notice on Washington that his "jack and bowling" ideology game continues and he is taking off some of the heat from his regional left wing allies who are up in arms at his tactical duplicity.

In the second place, Mr. Price is trying to preserve, on the domestic scene, some of the PUP's "revolutionary" credibility. He hopes that by resurrecting Shoman in the big city, the PUP will be able to attract some youth and intellectual voters for the upcoming City Council elections.

But, as one BLOOD official put it, "These people are insincere. If they were so hot under the collar about the Grenada invasion, they would be demonstrating at the US Embassy."

STATUS, EFFECTIVENESS OF TOLEDO UNION DEBATED

Punta Gorda TOLEDO STAR in English 30 Oct 83 p 3

[Letter to the editor and paper's response]

[Text] Editor Star,

At an executive committee meeting of the Toledo Christian Workers' Development Union held on the 17th inst., I was directed to reply to your commentary on our union, in your newspaper issue of the 2nd instant.

It is hard to believe that you are not aware of the existence of a trade union in the District, in light of the fact that when the existing union elected to go independent of Dangriga, you, as a newspaper reporter was invited to its inaugural meeting.

Admittedly, the Toledo Christian Workers' Development Union is small in size, but it is one of the best administered trade unions in Belize. It is a non-aligned character, and actively promotes the interest of its members. In fact, death benefits and loans are given to its members. In fact, death benefits and loans are given to its members. In furtherance of the members' education, we are, just now, putting the pieces together for the holding of a trade union seminar.

Given its size, the Toledo Christian Workers' Development Union is definitely, very strong.

Respectfully yours,

(sgd) HERMAN LEWIS  
President - T.C.W.D.U.

Editor's Note: The phrase in my Commentary: "We do not have a trade-union nor a strong cooperative movement" was not to be taken literally. Everyone knows there is a union and a cooperative in Punta Gorda. But they are not dynamic.

The TCWDU Union for example has seven officers which includes Mr. Lewis as its President. Mr Lewis is a PUP Senator and works politically for the

Government; the other six officers are working for the Public Works Dept (S. Palacio, G. Avila, W. Arzu, C. Cabral, V. Sanchez & C. Avila), and in the layoffs taking place in the P.W.D. this month, none of the six will lose their jobs. Their bread, along with the Senator's is well buttered. They cannot agitate effectively for the poor man when they are committed to the Government.

CSO: 3298/186

## LAYOFFS AFFECT GOVERNMENT, ELECTRICITY BOARD WORKERS

## Board Dismissals

Belize City THE REPORTER in English 30 Oct 83 pp 1, 6

[Text]

ELECTRICITY BOARD MANAGEMENT threw down the gauntlet this week by dismissing 56 of its employees -- 25 white collar workers from its office staff and 31 workers from the production branch.

The termination notices, together with cheques for severance pay were handed out as the workers came in for work on Monday morning.

The Belize Energy Workers Union has answered this action of its own - a 21 day notice that it intends to take action unless the workers are re-instated. The Union is also demanding an official investigation into the workings of the Belize Electricity Board.

The storm within the Electricity Board has been brewing for some three weeks

now, after management indicated that it wanted to cut costs by dismissing some 50 - odd workers. The Belize EWU responded immediately, insisting on a meeting with the management and threatening to take industrial action if the union's point of view was not headed. A series of three marathon meetings did not help to resolve the problem. The final meeting was held last Saturday.

Then, on Monday the Management of the BEB did just what it told the Union. it was entitled to do under its collective bargaining agreement with the union, that is, to make management decisions and to control the work force which it employs, by dismissing 56 workers or 15 per cent of its work force.

Under the Essential Services Ordinance the Belize Energy Workers is required to give 21 days of clear notice before it can legally undertake any industrial action. On Monday morning the Union complied with this requirement of the law, thus in effect drawing up the battle lines between Board and Union.

The BEWU has also addressed a letter to Minister of Energy, Luis Sylvester, informing him that an industrial dispute now exists between the Union and the Board.

Observers point out that the Belize Electricity Board has been used for many years as a nesting area for cushy jobs and for political appointees. The Board employs some 367 men and women in Belize City and



pays out something like \$212,000 Bze in salaries and wages each month. But in counterpoint to this, the salaries of the top 25 men on the Board account for \$37,974 of this monthly expenditure.

The Union workers have a strong case when they point out that the Board's problems were not caused by the workers, but by the many mind-boggling management decisions which literally threw away millions of dollars. They insist, with faultless logic, that Management should face the consequences of its folly and not use the energy workers—as scapegoats. In any other country, they point out, management heads would have rolled long ago.

The weakness of the BEWU position is

that it only represents 75 percent of the 367 workers employed by the Board.

The Board hopes to save \$342,000 a year from its retrenching move which shaves off 15 per-cent of its work force.

It is believed that if the BEWU should vote to carry out strike action the members of the Union would support the strike. But how about the other 25 per-cent who are not Union members! Would they risk their jobs to lend moral support to the Union's cause?

This is the million dollar question that the Belize Electricity Board must consider. It is also a question which the city, its businessmen and its electricity consumers must face.

#### Layoffs in Toledo

Punta Gorda TOLEDO STAR in English 30 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] SOME TWENTY workers attached to the Public Works Department in Toledo were laid off this week. This is in keeping with Government's move to retrench as scores of workers are being laid off through out the country.

As expected, in Toledo and elsewhere, staunch PUP members and campaigners were spared the axe. Toledo has no industries; and those fired in P.G. are now wondering what to do.

### Scale of Cutbacks

Belize City AMANDALA in English 4 Nov 83 p 3

[Text] Our sources say the Ministry of Works is laying off workers in all five districts aside from Belize.

The object of this exercise is to marshall all resources and funds for emergency work on drains and streets in Belize City.

This is the once every three years cosmetic treatment for the old capital city, as the bankrupt PUP government tries to bamboozle us suckers one more time.

CSO: 3298/187

## PARTIES NAME CANDIDATES FOR CITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS

## PUP Divisional Nominations

Belize City BELIZE SUNDAY TIMES in English 6 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] The People's United Party has now selected its nine candidates who will contest the upcoming Belize City Council elections

The candidates were selected at separate conventions of each of the six electoral divisions of Belize City.

The three bigger divisions - Collet, Albert and Freetown - each fielded two candidates and the other three - Mesopotamia, Fort George and Pickstock - selected one each.

The candidates are: Ms. Gloria McField, Ms. Marian Lewis, Ms. Maude Fonseca and Messrs. Rafael Chavez, Harry Lui, Remigio Montejo, Winston Smiling, Dorian Barrow and Victor Usher.

## UDP Contestants

Belize City AMANDALA in English 28 Oct 83 p 3

[Text] BELIZE CITY, Sun. Oct. 23  
The United Democratic Party this afternoon at Bird's Isle selected 9 candidates to contest the December Belize City Council elections.

11 party members and officers offered themselves for the slate, so a run off election had to be held.

The results were as follows:

	<u>VOTES</u>
Dean Barrow	216
Hubert Elrington	213
Sam Rhaburn	198
Derek Aikman	197

## CRUZ LED CLEAN

## UP CAMPAIGN

SAN IGNACIO, Fri. Oct. 21

The UDP Mayor of San Ignacio-Santa Elena, Domingo Cruz, led a clean up campaign of the towns today featuring school children and college students.

Philip Goldson	197
Frank Lizama	192
Carlos Castillo	191
Rodwell Pinks	184
Gustavo Bautista	169

## PROBLEMS PERSIST WITH MEXICAN GENERATOR, FUEL SUPPLIES

## Equipment Problems

Belize City AMANDALA in English 4 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] BELIZE CITY, Fri. Nov. 4

A lot of terrible news from the Belize Electricity Board this week.

The Mexican generator will be shut down and sent back when it completes two months of local service on November 12. This gift horse had bad teeth. The Mexican generator guzzled fuel at a rate beyond belief and budget both.

The Board either ordered the wrong crankshaft or the company sent the wrong crankshaft for one of the 16 cylinder Rustons.

And the English engineer from Ruston declared this week that the just completed concrete foundation for the 18 cylinder Ruston (which had been rusting on dock for almost two years) is defective and he would nullify the generator's guarantee if the machine were placed on such platform.

Board officials in a panic called in civil engineer Bob Mahler and tried to re-open lines of communication with engineer Jim Haulzes.

The thing is that Haulzes

had been in charge of constructing the platform until a few weeks ago when he was peremptorily fired by the 4 Southern Electric Company (Atlanta, Georgia) experts who have been brought in and given complete authority by Sylvestre and Searle.

Our sources say it is the Georgia crackers who have messed up, but BEB chairman Searle has said that Bob Mahler's tested opinion is that the platform can withstand stress of 6,000 lbs. per square inch when the Ruston specifications only demand that the foundation stand up to 3,000 lbs. of pressure per square inch.

So then why would the Ruston man condemn the platform?

As if the whole situation is not horrible enough, there is bad blood between the Americans from Southern and the Belizeans they have been ordering around.

In Japan, of course, Louie would have been requested to commit hara kiri a long time ago.

## Diesel Shortage

Belize City THE REPORTER in English 30 Oct 83 pp 1, 10

[Text]

WEDNESDAY AFTER-  
NOON'S 5-HOUR  
black-out of half  
the city was for  
once not caused by  
any mechanical or  
electrical fault, but  
by a shortage of  
fuel at the Ladyville  
plant.

The Mexican  
dinosaur and the  
Mirlee Blackstone  
both had to be shut  
down shortly after  
mid-day because the  
Board's storage  
tanks had run dry.

Since Mexico has  
stopped supplying  
the Board with  
fuel, Board officials  
have been looking  
to traditional  
suppliers once  
more.

Esso  
Standard Oil, which  
has a supply  
contract, has not been  
able to meet all of  
the Board's diesel  
requirements, which  
reliable sources  
say, run between  
12,000 to 15,000

gallons daily.

Texaco has come  
in to save the day  
on two occasions -  
once bringing in a  
small tanker at very  
short notice, and  
on another occasion,  
last week, trucking  
in emergency  
supplies overland  
from Puerto Barrios  
and Puerto Cortez  
in Guatemala.

A Texaco  
spokesman told the  
REPORTER that  
Texaco has  
refineries in  
Panama, Puerto  
Cortez and Puerto  
Barrios, and could,  
if it had a supply  
contract, arrange  
for reliable supplies  
using small tanker  
vessels.

An Esso tanker  
which came in on  
Tuesday - has  
replenished the  
supply so that a  
country wide crisis  
has been averted -  
until next time!

CSO: 3298/188



BRIEFS

GASOLINE PRICE CUT--Pump prices of Premium and Regular Gasoline were decreased by 7 cent per gallon effective last weekend. The Ministry of Trade and Industry in making the announcement said the decrease is the result of seasonal fluctuations in the price of petroleum products in the Caribbean area. [Text]  
[Belize City BELIZE SUNDAY TIMES in English 6 Nov 83 p 3]

CSO: 3298/188

## NATIONAL STATISTICS INSTITUTE ISSUES REPORT ON UNEMPLOYMENT

## Unemployment of 18 Percent Reported

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 6 Oct 83 p C 2

[Text] During the 3-month period between June and August, the rate of unemployment in the country went as high as 18 percent which means that 668,100 people were without jobs according to figures released yesterday by Hector Kappes, head of the Department of Labor Statistics in the National Institute of Statistics [INE].

This figure represents an increase of 0.2 percent compared to the May-July 3-month period and was explained as being "a change of a seasonal nature."

Of the 668,100 unemployed, 523,500 fall under the category of people who have lost their jobs while the rest are people seeking a job for the first time. They are all part of a workforce consisting of people 15 years old or older which in our country amount to 3,712,500 persons.

In August of this year, the number of enrollments in the Employment Program for Heads of Households, the POJH, for the entire country was 158,683 and in July the number of those enrolled in the Minimum Employment Program, the PEM, was 380,596.

In the overall group of unemployed in the country, 21.6 percent are seeking a job for the first time; 21 percent are from the communal social and personal service sector; 15.9 percent from the industrial sector; 11.2 percent from commerce; 11.1 percent from construction; 8.2 percent from agriculture; 5.8 percent from the transport industry; 3.1 percent from financial services; 1.4 from mines and quarries and 0.6 percent from the gas, electricity and water services.

## By Regions

The INE survey shows an unemployment rate of 18.7 percent for the metropolitan region during the June-August 3-month period representing an increase of 0.1 compared to the May-July 3-month period. That region has 284,400 unemployed. In August there were 131,565 enrollments in the POJH and in July 91,837 enrollments in the PEM.

The rates of unemployment by regions are: 19.6 percent for Region 1; 15.2 percent for Region 2; 12.3 percent for Region 3; 11 percent for Region 4; 17.5 percent for Region 5; 18.9 percent for Region 6; 14.9 percent for Region 7; 10.2 percent for Region 8; 10.6 percent for Region 9; 10.4 percent for Region 10; 13.2 percent for Region 11; 14.2 percent for Region 12.

With the exception of the Metropolitan Region, the highest number of people enrolled in emergency programs are found in Region 8 (76,384 in the PEM and 8,425 in the POJH), Region 5 (37,461 in PEM and 4,311 in POJH), Region 10 (46,046 in PEM and 3,252 in POJH), Region 9 (38,524 in PEM and 1,373 in POJH), Region 4 (27,842 in PEM and 1,103 in POJH).

#### Goal of 15 Percent Unemployment Pursued

Santiago TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 6 Oct 83 p 6

[Text] The unemployment rate which, according to the INE figures, went up by 0.2 percent is not statistically important and we remain firm in our decision to bring it down to 15 percent by 31 December, Minister of Economy Andres Passicot said yesterday.

"One cannot talk of a significant change on the basis of a 30-day period," the secretary of state added. "That rate corresponds to the situation on 30 June and at that time we had not taken the steps currently being implemented to fight unemployment on a daily basis. The results will be noticeable in the next unemployment rate figures. I must point out that the target of 15 percent unemployment by 31 December will only show in the statistics at the end of March."

When Passicot was asked if this meant that the downward trend, registered lately, had stopped he said that fluctuations remain close to the 18 percent figure. Over a period of 30 days, he pointed out, it is difficult to achieve dramatic changes. What is important is the change registered over a period of 10 months and what will happen in the coming months.

The minister noted that in some regions the rates of unemployment are higher. "We do not make 30-day projections," he said, "our calculations are based on a period of a year."

#### Investments

Passicot then announced the infrastructure investments made by the government to revive the economy and said that in 1982 these investments totalled 21.036 billion pesos and in 1983 (including the last quarter) they were increased to 30.009 billion pesos.

The most important investments were made in the sectors of housing, public works, drinking water and public buildings. He also said that the money supply in the private sector increased by 5.1 percent during the month of September and a significant increase was also registered in the money placed in term deposits.

On the subject of foreign reserves, Passicot pointed out that there has been a positive upturn with these reserves currently standing at \$1,707.7 million, the highest figure since February.

"We think," he added, "that by the end of this year we will have reached the target set in agreement with the IMF of posting a deficit no higher than \$606 million."

8796

CSO: 3348/15

## BASQUE TERRORISTS SAID SUPPLY ARMS, MEN TO ERP

San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 7 Oct 83 pp 2, 72

[Text] Since 1979, the Basque terrorist organization Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group (ETA) has been collaborating with the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) in the area of the department of Morazan in dynamiting incidents and destructive acts among the civilian population, reports the Press Committee of the Armed Forces (COPREFA), on the basis of documents seized by military intelligence.

The COPREFA report says that there are clear indications that ETA has provided the so-called "People's Revolutionary Army" with arms, money and mercenaries to keep up its destructive action, not only in the northeastern department of the country, but also in parts of the departments of San Miguel, La Union and Usulután. The report recognizes that it is in the first of these places where the joint plans were primarily carried out.

COPREFA also says that "this nefarious alliance has not only contributed to the discrediting of the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN), to which the ERP belongs, but has also eroded the support of former followers, causing them to question the sincerity of its objectives and even the truthfulness of its leaders."

Finally, according to the military source, the dramatic loss of support by foreign leftist organizations for the FMLN and the ERP began when these organizations became aware of the lies and promises of the Salvadoran subversives, who are always talking of the takeover in El Salvador that never happens, and of a popular sympathy that does not exist.

8926

CSO: 3248/60



## BCR EXTENDS 150 MILLION COLONS TO COTTON GROWERS

San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 7 Oct 83 p 3

[Text] The Central Bank has made available to cotton growers a new sum of seasonal credit for the 1983-84 harvest, increasing such credit to 4 colons per quintal of raw cotton, it was reported.

At present, it was noted, cotton growers are in the process of spraying insecticides and fertilizing the ground, and they need to transport the necessary inputs and undertake other tasks related to growing cotton.

With these 4 colons, the total value of production financing reaches 70 colons per quintal of raw cotton, and it is hoped that this will enable cotton growers to meet the costs that have been driven upward recently by inflation.

At present, it was indicated, 55,000 manzanas have been planted, and the total amount of seasonal credit authorized by the Central Bank for the 1983-84 harvest is 150 million colons.

Cotton growers may already make use of this financing, according to the Central Reserve Bank (BCR).

With regard to the increase in seasonal credit of 4 colons, it will be recalled that on 3 February of this year a total of 66 colons per quintal was approved, with another 4 colons approved this week.

Sources stated that this is in response to requests from cotton growers, in view of the verified rise in costs and the importance of this crop to the country's economy. It is well known that this sector provides jobs to various professionals: agricultural economists, agricultural pilots, entomologists, agronomists, as well as farmworkers, distributors of inputs, truckdrivers, oil vendors, and millworkers. It is also important as a source of foreign reserves. Thus, this crop annually benefits about 75,000 people.

On the other hand, cotton growers think it would be a good idea for the Central Bank to revise the interest rates it charges for credit to that sector, to guarantee continued profits.

Cotton growers expressed the hope that when the time comes, there will be effective financing for the support price, now about 15 million colons.

## COTTON COOPERATIVE CALLS TEXTILE INDUSTRY AGREEMENT UNFAIR

San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 7 Oct 83 p 47

[Highlights of letter from the Salvadoran Cotton Cooperative to LA PRENSA GRAFICA in response to newspaper declarations by the Union of Textile Industries; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] It is not our intention to engage in debate with anyone, but we cannot allow the insinuations that this Board of Directors presented false information at El Papalon, El Martillo (La Carrera) and Entre Rios, to be accepted without comment. Because of the serious attitude this Board of Directors has assumed, and because any member who was absent from the meeting might believe such statements by Mr Rubio, and especially the authorities of our country and the people in general, we feel an obligation to declare that this Board of Directors is not in the habit of lying or falsifying data or news items; everything that was stated on that occasion is based on facts, data and figures which can be verified, and of which the members of the textile organization are fully aware. A mere glance at the situation presented to the members of the Cooperative reveals that justice and reason are on our side.

Without going into detail, we can clarify the following:

1) The textile factories claim that they pay us in cash, and even with certified checks, and they also state that they are paying us interest from 15 July to 30 November of the same year, for the cotton held in reserve since November of the previous year. This implies /credit granted by the Cooperative, amounting to more than 45 million colons/ since 1 November of the previous year; /that the textile companies do not pay interest for anything before 15 July of the following year;/ thus, for 8-1/2 months the Cooperative has cared for, protected and maintained that reserve at great cost, without charging interest, even though the Cooperative pays interest to the Central Reserve Bank for that financing. In that regard, the information provided was incomplete and inadequate.

2) The textile manufacturers claim that they pay the necessary insurance, and that the insurance companies assume the risks, /except for those not covered by said companies./ That is another of the problems we have inherited, because /the Cooperative is responsible for all risks, including those not covered by the companies,/ and we are forced to substitute the reserved cotton

for them when some damage takes place, at no cost to the textile industry, in accordance with the "fair agreement," with the Cooperative absorbing any losses. Given the situation in this country, this happens quite often. Suffice it to recall that an entire train loaded with cotton that it was transporting from San Miguel to national factories, was totally destroyed, and its value was chalked up as one more loss for the cotton producer.

3) With reference to transportation, everyone, especially anyone who dares travel through the eastern part of the country, is aware of the risks run by transportation workers and their equipment, with the resultant surge in the costs of transportation.

4) The textile companies of El Salvador have always been able to obtain fiber without investing large amounts, as do textile manufacturers in other countries, and the Cooperative has always guaranteed them the best quality available, since national factories get only the /best fiber/ from us. The textile industry has also been able to count on an /adequate supply of the best fibers in the world, with incredibly low storage prices, and furthermore, service right at the factory./

5) Whether or not the agreement was fair at one time is not at issue. This Board of Directors feels that the agreement does not now provide /equitable and fair treatment for both sides,/ and that it should be revised soon to deal with the aspects that damage the interests above all of the grower who, incidentally, is being forced to abandon that crop.

We would like to take this opportunity to note that from a total of 130,000 manzanas planted in 1979, today only 55,000 are planted, and more than 60,000 families that benefited directly, as well as several thousand more that benefited indirectly, are now out of work. For this reason, we feel an obligation to seek just solutions for our organization in order to provide at least some compensation for its sacrifice.

This is the commitment this Board of Directors has to the members: To maintain and harvest the areas under cultivation in order to launch the National Recuperation is our challenge, which we accept with pleasure; and with God's help, the government's understanding and the cotton growers' tenacity, we are achieving that goal.

This obliges us, as responsible directors, to make an effort to lift from the shoulders of cotton growers the burden of commitments made in other times, which now weigh heavily on the organization. It was for that reason that we informed the members of the textile industry of our desire to revise and modify the agreement.

8926

CSO: 3248/60

DECLINE IN COFFEE PRODUCTION ATTRIBUTED TO MISTAKEN POLICY

San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 28 Sep 83 pp 3, 28

[Text] Coffee producers indicate that coffee production has fallen by 50 percent due to the problems plaguing the sector as a result of the erroneous policy that is being pursued.

The 50 percent decline is already an enormous problem, they say, in addition to massive unemployment among farmworkers, who earn their daily bread and support their families by producing coffee.

The erosion of coffee production is causing the state to lose tax revenues, which are so essential to the maintenance of the bureaucracy.

The problem will no longer be limited to unemployment among farmworkers, but also that of public employees, when the state can no longer afford to pay them.

Another problem, they assert, is the payment of the "unavoidable tax," which coffee producers must pay even if they suffer losses.

The state spends only one centavo to collect this tax.

Another problem is the disposal of 50 percent of the 1981-82 harvest when work begins to bring in the 1982-83 harvest.

For this reason, growers are behind on their payments for loans for coffee production, and this must be added to the low prices they are getting for their coffee.

Now we must consider the liens the bank and credit sector is placing on property because of the failure to pay off loans to coffee growers.

The granting of credit is totally negative, since the approval or disapproval of a loan application takes 3 to 4 months.

The interest rates that banks charge coffee growers are too high: 18 to 22 percent.

The dollars that come into the country in the form of foreign currency reserves earned on coffee transactions are taken by the Central Bank at the exchange rate of 2,4975 colons, and the dollars from the black market or drafts that come into the country from various origins, have an exchange rate of 3.80 or 4.00 colons to the dollar.

As a consequence, the Salvadoran colon automatically is devalued, although our authorities have not admitted it in public.

Therefore, the trickling down of colons, which used to generate employment, business, etc., is gradually coming to a halt.

The improper management of INCAFE with respect to the closing of registers and capricious publication of prices, is dashing the hopes of 30,000 coffee growers, who hoped that the country would recover from the current crisis.

The lack of responsibility in the current nationalized banking system is a problem, because it does not respect the coffee growers' ownership of funds, and instead of returning those funds to them, it uses them capriciously on other loans, at the expense of the coffee growers themselves.

These funds are left over from the sale of coffee beans by INCAFE or private entrepreneurs.

"Next we will propose some practical solutions to the problems we have outlined," they said.

8926

CSO: 3248/60



## BRIEFS

ELECTIONS ANNOUNCEMENT PLEASES AUXILIARY BISHOP--Msgr Gregorio Rosas Chavez, auxiliary bishop of San Salvador, said in his homily yesterday that El Salvador has gone through one of the most somber weeks in recent months, but that "the announcement of presidential elections for 25 March 1984 brought a ray of light." The prelate added that "nevertheless, we all know that elections alone will not solve our grave problems, although they can certainly be a positive step toward a solution." Msgr Rosas Chavez said that politicians now have the tremendous task and huge responsibility of giving credibility to these elections. [Excerpt]  
[PA300023 San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 28 Nov 83 p 3]

CSO: 3248/219

## BRIEFS

**NEW CIVIL DEFENSE UNITS**--Last weekend, 25,500 members of civil defense units were sworn in at moving ceremonies held in different municipalities in the interior. In San Sebastian, Department of Retalhuleu, 7,000 civil defense patrol members were sworn in on Sunday. They were from communities in that municipality. Responsibility for the new patrols belongs to Military Zone 16. In Fraijanes, Department of Guatemala, 5,000 members of the new civil defense units were sworn in at a ceremony held two days ago at the municipal stadium. The morning event was presided over by the director of civil affairs of the Ministry of National Defense, Infantry Col Mario Enrique Paiz Bolanos. Also two days ago, 5,000 civil patrol members were sworn in in the municipality of Quezaltepeque, Department of Chiquimula, in a ceremony presided over by Col Carlos Beltran Castaneda Lee, second in command of Military Zone 8. Finally, another ceremony was held on Saturday at which 8,500 members of civil defense patrols were sworn in in the municipality of Gualan, Department of Zacapa. The ceremony was presided over by Infantry Col Cesar Avila Giron and attended by high-ranking civilian authorities from that department. [Text] [Guatemala City DIARIO DE CENTRO AMERICA in Spanish 11 Oct 83 p 5] 11,464

**CORN, BEAN CROP**--8 Oct--The current corn crop can be estimated at some 23 million quintals, while beans will total about 2.2 million quintals. EL GRAFICO was told by Dr Luis A. Leal M., general director of the National Agricultural Marketing Institute. Estimated corn consumption is 23.2 million quintals, while that of beans is 2.7 million, but given the results of the estimated production, plus Institute and private reserves, it is believed that there will be more than enough grain to cover anticipated demand, Dr Leal added. The Institute official said that some 18.1 million quintals of corn will be needed for consumption and 2.5 million quintals of beans. For livestock, another 1.1 million quintals of corn and .1 million quintals of beans will be needed, while 3.7 million quintals of corn and .1 million quintals of beans will go to industry. Some .3 million quintals of corn will be needed for agricultural purposes, but no beans. The general manager of the Marketing Institute also spoke of the period of purchasing basic grain, saying that corn harvests go to the market between August to December for the first crop and between January and March for the second. Beans also have two seasons, the first from July to December and the second from January to March. The Marketing Institute still has basic grains stored: 65,000 quintals of corn and 180,000 quintals of beans. It has an available capacity stored of 2,295,963 quintals. [Text] [Guatemala City DIARIO EL GRAFICO in Spanish 9 Oct 83 p 4] 11,464

COFFEE EXPORT QUOTA--Guatemala obtained an export quota of 2,354,452 quintals for the 1983-1984 coffee season beginning in October and running until September of next year, the National Coffee Association, ANACAFE, has officially reported. The quota, without cuts, is considered an achievement of national coffee growers which, through an ANACAFE delegation, participated in the International Convention. The Guatemalan national representation, along with other producer countries, maintained a firm position, avoiding any cuts in exports for the new coffee year, cuts sought by consumer countries trying to establish a more restricted market and a policy of low prices through greater demand. In the new negotiations, it was necessary to accept future cuts, but very positive gains were also made here because for Guatemala, if any new cuts come about, they will amount to 179,420 quintals, 32,000 fewer than during the previous season. Price margins for the new annual period of the coffee market subject to the International Convention will continue to be the same as last year, which were \$1.20 (per pound) minimum and \$1.40 maximum. Based on the mechanism established, when the price goes below \$1.20 during a 15-day period, a cut will be made to bring up the price and when that price goes over \$1.40, the opposite will be done. In other words, export possibilities will be broadened in order to maintain a balanced market. [Text] [Guatemala City DIARIO EL GRAFICO in Spanish 19 Oct 83 p 4] 11,464

NEW VARIETY OF CORN--Following several years of patient research conducted by scientists at the Agricultural Science and Technology Institute (ICTA) of Guatemala, the Nutritional Institute of Central America and Panama (INCAP) and with the cooperation of the International Corn and Wheat Center (CIMMYT), with headquarters in Mexico, a new variety of corn, known as Nutricia, has been created whose protein content is equivalent to 90 percent of that of milk. This information was reported yesterday at the closing ceremony of World Food Day by ICTA officials, who explained that because of the features of Nutricia, which are intrinsically related with the content and quality of protein, it will constitute a hope for improving the nutrition of millions of persons who depend on corn as their main food staple. The high nutritional value of the opaque corn has been demonstrated on various occasions at INCAP, Guatemala, and at the University of the Valley in Cali, Colombia. The first studies on children were done in 1966 and 1967 respectively. INCAP concluded that the biological value of the protein from opaque corn was only 10 percent less efficient than that of milk. At the University of the Valley, it was shown that children between the ages of 5 and 6 recovered from advanced malnutrition with a diet in which 80 percent of the protein ingested came from opaque corn. At the Colombian Agricultural Institute (ICA), it was demonstrated, on hogs weighing from 56 to 88 kilograms fed only opaque corn, that a weight gain was achieved similar to that from a diet of corn and soybean cakes with 17 percent total protein. The information goes on to say that INCAP obtained the best response with diets of opaque corn with levels of corn under 15-16 percent. At the opaque corn protein level, food efficiency was better than that of cottonseed, soybean flour, sorghum protein and common corn, with or without amino acid supplements. In short, INTA, CIMMYT and INCAP experts hope that the dissemination of Nutricia and other varieties soon to be distributed will begin a worldwide food revolution with incalculable benefits for all mankind. [Text] [Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 17 Oct 83 p 4] 11,464

## PPP ORGAN CHARGES GOVERNMENT WITH HARMFUL BORROWING

## Government Loan Guarantees

Georgetown MIRROR in English 16 Oct 83 p 4

[Text]

THE precarious financial situation which obtained in 1982 continues to some degree in 1983, despite 'austerity measures' adopted by the regime. The public corporations are borrowing a lot of money, from both local and overseas sources. This was made possible mainly by the tactic of the regime last year to transfer some \$475 million in para-statal debts to the central government, thus increasing the Public Debt by that amount. With the decks thus cleared the corporations have renewed their borrowing spree.

Information released by the Ministry of Finance disclosed that large sums were guaranteed by the central government in 1982...the same year the deck clearing exercise was carried out. The total sum came up to \$754.7 million, excluding a further sum of DFL 13,400,000. Local currency guarantees tot up to \$307.9 million. Altogether the foreign currency component of the guarantees come up to 60 per cent of the total.

The foreign currencies guaranteed were US dollars; Pounds sterling; Dutch guilders; Japanese yen; Austrian shillings; Danish kroner; Swiss francs; Venezuelan bolivars; Canadian dollars; European Currency Units from the EEC; etc.

A breakdown in the guarantee list shows the following:

\$32.7 million went to the Guyana Electricity Corporation; \$74.5 million to the Guyana Rice Board; and \$88.0 million to the Guyana Sugar Corporation.

The various entities in the bauxite industry (Bidco, Guy-mine, Guybau) got local currency to the tune of \$39.5 million—while foreign exchange guarantees were US\$53.8 million, plus other sums as follows: DFL 13.4 million, Canadian \$7.1 million, Shillings 46.8 million; Deutschmarks 11.4 million. The bauxite industry got the largest quota of guarantees last year, as it did in 1981 also.

Other corporations and entities which obtained guarantees were: Guyana Airways corporation; the Agri-Bank; Guyana Broadcasting Service; Guyana Fisheries Ltd; Guyana Food Processors; Guyana Glassworks Ltd; (\$4 million as overdraft/letter of credit although it is not working and never worked since its completion); Mortgage Finance Bank; the National Co-operative Bank; Guyana Liquor Corporation; Diamond Liquors Ltd; Guyana Oil Company Ltd; Guyana Pharmaceutical Corporation; Guyana National Engineering Corporation;

Also Guyana National Trading Corporation; Guyana Stockfeeds Ltd; Guyana Stores Ltd; Guyana Telecommunications Corporation; Guyana Transport Services Ltd; Seals and Packaging Industries Ltd.

The guarantees were given to letters of credit and overdrafts.

#### Use of Debentures

Georgetown MIRROR in English 23 Oct 83 p 3

[Text] THE central government through the Bank of Guyana is engaged in further heavy borrowing by way of debentures on the local money market. These debentures on the local money market. These debentures which are in denominations ranging from \$50 to \$500,000 are usually gobbled up by the big local and foreign commercial interests and state entities. The biggest buyer of debentures and also Treasury Bills is the National Insurance Scheme. Up to December 1982 NIS surpluses had reached \$496 million, which sum is invested in government securities.

So far for 1983 there were three issues of debentures totalling \$110 million at 14.5 per cent interest. These enormous sums at high interest, put a heavy strain on the nation's depleted financial resources at a time when the economy is contracting at an accelerated pace. Whereas between 1977-81 the GDP declined by 9 per cent, in 1982 it declined by 8 per cent. This situation induces the government to continuously raise taxes.

In 1982 the government floated 4 series of debentures totalling \$127.0 million. Up to June that year the interest rate was 11 per cent, increasing to 14.5 per cent from September up to the present day.

In 1981 the debentures issued amounted to \$124 million at 11 per cent interest; while in 1980 up to October there were already 3 series issued totalling \$89 million at 11 per cent interest.

For 1983 the public debt charges as a result of debts incurred have been budgeted at \$456 million, which is a 13.4 per cent increase over the debt charges paid in 1982....\$401.3 million. The local quantum of these debts has been observed to be larger than the overseas quantum. For 1983 the overseas amount is \$126 million (versus \$195 million in 1982) while the total amount (payable in local currency) amounts to \$330 million.

In last week's MIRROR it was pointed out that government guarantees to the ailing parastatal sector last year amounted to over \$754.7 million. For 1983 the corporations have been borrowing rapidly again, with Guyamine taking the lead. Guyamine is expected to have a whopping deficit of nearly \$200 million by December 1983.



Observers have noted that with these heavy borrowings taking place, and with the national economy stagnated, the debt burden will become onerous, and virtually impossible for the country's tax payers to bear. The government is already seeking further rescheduling of foreign debts, having rescheduled some debts last year. The local component of these debts hangs like a millstone on the necks of the people. No rescheduling is taking place in this area.

CSO: 3298/191

## MATERIAL ON, REACTION TO INTERVENTION IN GRENADA

## Report on Port-of-Spain Meeting

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 25 Oct 83 pp 1, 7

[Article by Courtney Gibson]

[Text]

**PORT-OF-SPAIN, [GNA]**  
 — The emergency Caricom Summit held in Port-of-Spain to discuss recent developments in Grenada ended Sunday with the leaders failing to arrive at a consensus on key issues, and with President Forbes Burnham saying he was not satisfied with its outcome.

In the words of conference Chairman, Trinidad and Tobago Prime Minister George Chambers, the conference was a "very, very difficult one."

Key issues on which the leaders of the 12 delegations failed to arrive at a consensus included the question of intervention with a view to restoring a state of normalcy in Grenada, the mounting of a Caricom fact-finding mission to Grenada and the question of recognition of the military authorities in Grenada.

At a Press conference at the end of the meeting, Prime Minister Chambers reported that there was a majority decision that Grenada should be suspended from the Movement until further notice, and that there was a majority decision supporting a number of proposed sanctions advocated by member countries of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). These sanctions included

suggestions that there should be no contact with the military authorities in Grenada.

It seems clear, however, that the majority decisions arrived at cannot be enforced under the Caricom Charter since, as Prime Minister Chambers himself admitted, the meeting was not an official Heads-of-Government meeting. Rather it was, in essence, an emergency meeting of 12 of 13 Caricom Heads-of-State and/or government.

And, as President Burnham pointed out at a Press conference, it was not an official Heads-of-Government meeting since under the Treaty of Chaguaramas, for an official meeting to be held, all member countries should be invited. But Grenada had not been invited to the just-concluded meeting.

On the question of expulsion or suspension, Cde. Burnham pointed out, a unanimous vote would have been required and Guyana was opposed to the suspension or expulsion of Grenada.

The majority view that Grenada should be suspended "until further notice", Cde. Burnham explained, seems worthless in terms of the Caricom Treaty which, on an issue such as expulsion or

suspension, calls for unanimity.

However, at his end of Summit Press conference, Prime Minister Chambers contended that the majority view that Grenada should be suspended was a "political decision demonstrating political will".

On the question of armed intervention in Grenada, Cde. Burnham lamented that the majority at the meeting seemed to be in favour of "intervention from anywhere" especially if a regional effort did not succeed in restoring some measure of normalcy in Grenada.

He stressed, however, that Guyana is completely averse to any military intervention in Grenada — especially from outside of the region.

"Our position is that we are prepared, as far as we are competent and capable, to give assistance or send troops to any country in Caricom if, that is in pursuit of the protection of the particular country's territorial integrity against an outside aggression, but certainly not to seek to determine the direction which the internal affairs should take", Cde. Burnham explained.

And, on the crucial issue of possible political and diplomatic recognition of the new authorities in Grenada, Cde. Burnham pointed out that, as a mature nation, Guyana will be guided by the norm "which is to recognise the authority that has effective control".

He agreed with the view expressed by a senior official within the Canadian Ministry of External Affairs who explained recently that in matters such as deciding on whether to grant recognition to the new authorities in Grenada, there are no moral judgements.

"The crucial fact in cases like this is whether or not

the regime, the group, the individual, the government, the party or what have you, has effective control of the country", he pointed out.

Meanwhile, the Caricom leaders at their just concluded meeting also failed to arrive at a consensus on the adoption of a number of sanctions which had been proposed by members of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS).

As a result, any imposition of sanctions would have to be done on a country by country basis. Among the sanctions proposed by the OECS were the freezing of the issuing of new currency through the East Caribbean Currency Authority and the cutting off of all sea and air communication links with Grenada.

Several proposals did not receive Guyana's support. And, Cde. Burnham pointed out that Guyana believes that before getting down to issuing condemnatory statements steps should be taken to ascertain the facts.

In this regard, Guyana was an advocate of member countries mounting a fact-finding mission of eminent Caribbean nationals to visit Grenada and report on their findings.

However, there was no consensus on this matter. And, according to Cde. Burnham, the majority seemed to be in favour of intervention from anywhere if the regional effort did not succeed in restoring some measure of normalcy in Grenada.

Cde. Burnham returned to Guyana Sunday night. He was accompanied by Vice-President and Attorney General Dr. Mohamed Shahabuddeen, Foreign Minister Rashleigh Jackson, Health Minister Richard Van-West Charles, his Chief Political Adviser Elvin McDavid and Ambassador to Caracas Rudy Collins.

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 25 Oct 83 pp 7, 17

[Article by Courtney Gibson]

[Excerpt]

An understanding of the key issues involved at the moment is crucial to an understanding of why the Informal Caricom Summit did not meet with the measure of success many had hoped for.

These key issues include the question of recognition of the new regime in Grenada, the question of armed or other forms of intervention in the internal affairs of a sister Caricom state and the question of Grenada's membership in Caricom.

Other major issues, of course, include the imposition of sanctions against Grenada, and the nature of those sanctions.

By the time the meeting of the Heads was convened around 22:00 hrs. (GST) last Saturday, it was clear that there was much sympathy abroad for some form of intervention (military or other) by Caricom governments possibly with "outside" support in order to deal with the situation in the Spice Isle.

It was evident however, that much of this sympathy was riding on a wave of emotionalism rather than on a wave of enlightened thinking.

Saturday's issue of the "Trinidad Express," for example, provided a good measure of the degree of emotionalism that was abroad and which was being fuelled by some sections of the media in the region.

The Express' vitriolic editorial on Saturday, seemed to have one thing in mind: Helping to set the stage for an armed intervention in Grenada's internal affairs with the hope of overthrowing those who are now in control.

The editorial called on

regional governments to "take a firm decision to mount a security force to enter Grenada and free the people from this terror" and it was riddled with emotive language.

On no less than 12 occasions, for example, expressions such as "the Butchers in St. George's," "the Clique of Murders," "The Gangsters," and "Those Murders" were used in the Editorial. The editorial in the Trinidad Guardian of the same date was no different.

Perhaps, it was excusable that the uninitiated should advocate such action without thinking seriously about the far reaching implications. The tragedy of it all, however, was that some Caricom leaders present at the weekend Summit seriously advocated intervention and [very suspiciously] seemed to be in favour of intervention from anywhere if the regional effort did not succeed in restoring some measure of normalcy in Grenada.

Guyana, of course, maintains a clear and unequivocal position in support of the sacred and internationally accepted principle of non-interference in the affairs of sovereign states and as such was firmly against any intervention in Grenada's internal affairs.

(Reports at the end of the meeting said the Bahamas, Belize and Trinidad and Tobago were also against intervention).

The haste with which some governments seemed prepared to mount a military force to invade Grenada must be considered a worrying development for, clearly they must realise,

that such action could help open the floodgates for armed and other forms of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of their own countries.

An important question which the people of the Caribbean will have to deliberate upon is whether, sanctioning military intervention — regional or extra-regional — in the internal affairs of a sovereign state, they would be forfeiting the moral right to condemn similar intervention by other states in the internal affairs of states in any part of the world.

Another worrying development is the seeming singlemindedness of the majority of Caricom member states in their pursuit of the expulsion or suspension of Grenada from the integration movement.

This singlemindedness was so evident at the weekend gathering of leaders that even though the meeting itself was not formally constituted in keeping with the Treaty of Chaguaramas, and even though there was no unanimous decision as is required, the Conference Chairman announced at a press conference that Grenada has been suspended from the Movement.

This is an interesting development. To begin with Grenada was not invited to the meeting so that at best the weekend session was an informal gathering of 12 of 13 leaders and not a duly constituted Heads of Government conference for which all members should be invited.

In addition, Guyana was

firmly against expulsion or suspension. And as President Burnham explained at a press conference Sunday, the majority view that Grenada should be suspended, becomes worthless in terms of the Caricom Treaty which, in an issue like this, calls for unanimity.

However, in the view of the conference Chairman, the decision to suspend Grenada was "a political decision demonstrating political will" and "if somebody wants to challenge that in the International Court at the Hague, they may do so."

That seems to be some interesting food for thought — and for possible action — for the region's leading legal minds.

The folly and the tragedy of these recent developments, however, is that while all Caricom leaders have been very solicitous of the welfare of the 110,000 Grenadians, some seem bent on causing untold hardships for the very people they are ostensibly trying to protect.

Wisdom, one would imagine, suggests that the better approach during this challenging period would be, first of all, to establish contact with the authorities in Grenada, ascertain the facts about what happened there recently and about what is happening there now and, at the same time, recognise and accept as fact, the new "reality" prevailing in Grenada today.

Lots of blood have already been shed. The likely consequences of an armed intervention is mind-boggling.

#### Text of Burnham Broadcast

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 26 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Text]

**PRESIDENT Forbes Burnham, in a broadcast to the nation last night, condemned the US invasion of Grenada, which, he said, had been perpetrated with the connivance of some groups within the region. Following is the text of the President's statement:**



Comrades, Fellow Guyanese,

On Friday before last, the 14th October, we in Guyana learnt that there was an internal rift in the New Jewel Movement which forms the Government of Grenada. After a series of events many of which remain unclear, after a series of rumours and contradictory reports, we learnt of the untimely and tragic death of the former Prime Minister of Grenada, Maurice Bishop, and a number of his ministerial colleagues and close political allies. We were most saddened and deeply regretted these deaths, especially that of Maurice Bishop.

In a public statement on Thursday last I communicated Guyana's sadness and concern and expressed the hope that the Grenadian people would "...seek to heal their wounds and, as a united nation, to determine their future destiny within Caricom and in the wider International Community." It was my view that whatever were the causes of the tragedy, it was for the Grenadian people to settle their problems and to order their future as they saw fit. At the same time I despatched a message of condolence to the late Maurice Bishop's mother, which ended with the words "...It should be no small consolation for you to know that your son devoted his life to the cause of his country and people."

On Friday last, I received an invitation from the Honourable Mr. George Chambers, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago and the present CARICOM Chairman inviting me to an emergency meeting of twelve CARICOM Heads-of-Government to be held in Port-of-Spain on the evening of Saturday, October 22.

At great inconvenience I accepted the invitation for I felt that the region of CARICOM might have been able to assist the Grenadians in any solution which they themselves sought. At the adjournment of the first session, which lasted until after 3.00 a.m. on Sunday, the Chairman, Mr. Chambers, announced the consensus with which Guyana agreed. The most important aspects of this consensus were that any resolution of the Grenadian situation —

(a) should be wholly regional in nature;

(b) should not violate International Law and /or the United Nations Charter;

(c) should have the restoration to normalcy in Grenada as its primary purpose;

(d) should have no external intervention, particularly in extra-regional military intervention;

(e) and further, the CARICOM fact-finding mission obviously acceptable to the Grenadian Authorities should be appointed from amongst eminent CARICOM citizens; and

(f) that the point of contact might be the present Governor-General of Grenada who is constitutionally the Queen's representative.

Later on Sunday morning when the meeting resumed, some time after 10 o'clock, certain participants insisted that there had not been a consensus earlier and by majority resolved that Grenada should be deemed to have been expelled from CARICOM. The word "deemed" had to be used for the meeting was informal and could not under the CARICOM Treaty be properly constituted, since Grenada had not been invited in the first place.

Further, under the CARICOM Treaty, as was recognised at the Summits of Ochos Rios in 1982 in Jamaica and at Port-of-Spain, in Trinidad and Tobago in July 1983, any major decision must be unanimous.

Guyana opposed any expulsion, deemed or otherwise. The OECS, the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States, Group supported by the representatives of Barbados and Jamaica refused to

accept the previous consensus especially in so far as it abjured outside intervention and it became clear that such outside intervention was contemplated and actively supported by all with the notable exceptions of Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, the Bahamas and Belize.

Today at 06:40 a.m. Guyana time, 05:40 a.m. Grenada time, United States troops landed on Grenadian soil, at the request of the OECS and Jamaica and Barbados to ensure the withdrawal of U.S. citizens on the island who in fact are not and have never been in danger.

In any case how can these states which are external to Grenada legitimise any invasion or intervention by the United States Government. The whole thing is contrary to International Law and the Charter of the United Nations, as well as to the Declaration of the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, subscribed to and supported by all CARICOM countries who were members of the United Nations when it was agreed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1981.

Today in the House of Commons of Great Britain, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher and the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe stated that the United Kingdom Government was informed by the United States of the proposed invasion only late yesterday and had advised against it.

The United Nations Secretary General has refused to comment on the situation in Grenada prior to the invasion because in his view, which view is obviously correct, any comment would amount to interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country. A

spokesman for the White House has accepted the fact that there was no threat to United States citizens in Grenada but what is more interesting is that we have a situation where an ally of Britain has without any justification whatsoever under International Law invaded one of Her Majesty's dominions.

Comrades, however unfortunate may be the events over the past twelve days in Grenada, and I concede they have been unfortunate, and I would further concede that they have been tragic, they cannot justify military intervention and aggression. The Government of Guyana condemns this invasion and seeks to have an immediate withdrawal of all United States forces. Today, Grenada, tomorrow Guyana and the day after tomorrow someone else.

At a time when the Contadora Group consisting of Venezuela, Panama, Colombia and Mexico takes a stand against outside interference in the internal affairs of Central America, we in the Caribbean are witnessing such outside interference instigated and/or supported by a group of Caribbean countries, a group that has not thought its position through, has not recognised that here we have a case of the reintroduction of colonialism and imperialism by invitation here today in the Caribbean. We have a group most members of which are members of the Non-Aligned Movement, which has as one of its principles, the 'Non-Interference in the Internal Affairs of Sovereign States'.

While this group seeks to reintroduce colonialism and imperialism into the Caribbean, there has come opposition to this latest act of aggression from countries like Canada, Sweden, France and the Dominican Republic, and the Caribbean

Council of Churches has also expressed its disapproval and opposition to the action taken today.

Your Government has consulted with the Opposition and has good reason to believe that when Parliament meets very shortly and before the end of this week, there will appear absolutely no difference between the Government and the Opposition on this most vital question. There will shortly be a meeting of the Security Council of which Guyana is a member and when our representative speaks, we expect that he will speak knowing that regardless of political and maybe ideological differences in Guyana there is unanimity among the parties represented in Parliament on the illegality, the immorality of the invasion of Grenada.

Steps will be taken by my Government to inform the Non-Aligned Movement of which we are a member and to seek support of our proposition from the members of that Group.

The Chairman of CARICOM has already been communicated with and will receive a further communication. If we do not take a stand, our hard-earned independence is a mere notion, a chimera.

At this time, our hearts, our sympathy and our support go out to the Grenadian people who are being treated as less than mortals, thanks to the connivance of some groups within our Region and the big brother in our hemisphere.

I hope to speak to you again at a Press Conference tomorrow, Wednesday and again at a rally arranged to take place at the Conference Centre at Sophia on Thursday evening.

There occurred to me some lines "... never send to know for whom the bell tolls. It tolls for thee."

Blast at U.S.

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 26 Oct 83 p 6

[Editorial]

[Excerpt]

The big-stick method of the Reagan administration was also condemned by the United Kingdom Government, which noted that no circumstance in the complex scenario justified an invasion.

Of course the US has always seen itself as a policing agent in this hemisphere. Its list of armed interventions in the affairs of sovereign states in Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean is chilling and impressive, ranging from excursions into what is now Texas, sparking the Mexican war in the middle of the last century, to this year's adventurism in Honduras.

However, there is a new and distressing element in the Grenada affair. This time around, the US seems to have overstepped boundaries they themselves had set up with regard to foreign relations in the region.

This latest US excursion into the realm of lawlessness appears to be the brainchild of an administration that has cast all decency to the wind.

A Cuban official has warned that the Grenada invasion could be an indication of similar future action in the region.

The thought leaves one cold. It also emphasises the urgency with which international opinion must be brought to bear on a super power so hawkish and corrupt that it flies in the face of all that is moral and makes a mockery of the sovereignty of independent states.

CSO: 3298/189

## NEW DUTIES FOR TWO VICE PRESIDENTS; OTHER APPOINTMENTS

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 25 Oct 83 p 24

[Text]

**TWO Vice-Presidents have assumed new responsibilities since the second stage of the reorganisation of the Cabinet was announced last Saturday.**

The reorganisation followed the reshuffle effective October 17 in which two other Ministers were brought into the Cabinet and a new Vice-President named.

The Vice-Presidents who have changed portfolios are Cdes Desmond Hoyte, now Vice-President Production and Cde Hamilton Green, now Vice-President Social Infrastructure.

Newest Vice-President is Dr. Mohamed Shahabudeen whose exact designation is yet to be determined but who will continue to be Attorney-General and Minister of Justice.

Cde Hoyte will now be responsible for Agriculture; Fisheries and Forestry; Energy and Mines; Manufacturing and Processing. Cde Green will be responsible for Education; Social Development and Culture; Health and Public Welfare; Communications; Manpower and Co-operatives; and Construction and Works.

One new Minister is Cde Carl Greenidge, who has

been appointed Minister of Finance and Economic Planning. Since 1981, he had been Chief Economic Adviser to the President. The other Minister named is Cde Seeram Prashad who previously served as Regional Minister and Minister in the Ministry of Agriculture before becoming Consultant in the Ministry of Transport.

Cde Prashad, the first Minister to re-enter the Cabinet in the 19-year-old People's National Congress Government, will now serve as Minister of Transport within the Vice-Presidency of Social Infrastructure.

The only other Minister affected in the Cabinet reshuffle is Cde Harold B. Singh who has been transferred from the Ministry of Finance and is now Minister of State within the Ministry of Regional Development.

Cde Basdeo Bhaggan who was Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been appointed Parliamentary Secretary within the Office of the Prime Minister.

President Forbes Burnham had announced the reshuffle at a session of the PNC's General Council when he paid tribute to Vice-President Steve Naraine who was leaving to take up an appointment as Guyana's new High Commissioner to India.

The President, at the

time, said he would assume direct responsibility now for scientific research and development, a key area in the national self-reliance thrust.

Cde Burnham also hinted that there would be some changes in the information sector. They would be announced later.

The President said the appointment of Cde Naraine as High Commissioner to India was indicative of the great importance which Guyana attaches to the Non-Aligned Movement and indicative of Guyana's foreign policy thrust. Guyana is a leading member of the Non-Aligned Movement of which India's (Prime Minister Indira Gandhi) is the current chairman.

Cde Burnham described Cde Naraine as "a dedicated and dependable" member of his team over the years.

The President said Cde Naraine had given dedicated service to the Party, the Government and the People of Guyana and that since joining the PNC "he never looked back."

Cde Naraine, who is also Second Vice-Chairman of the PNC, thanked President Burnham for the personal guidance given to him over the years. He also thanked other members of the Party for their support.

The former Vice-President said he was conscious of the great importance of his new assignment -- an assignment which he was prepared to undertake dutifully and during which he would seek to serve the nation well.



## HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIAL NARAINÉ WILL BE ENVOY TO INDIA

Georgetown NEW NATION in English 25 Oct 83 p 8

[Text]

**MEMBER** of the Central Executive Committee of the People's National Congress and Vice-Chairman of the Party, Cde. Steve Narainé, left Guyana last week to take up an appointment as Guyana's High Commissioner to India.

Up to the time of his departure, Cde. Narainé was Vice-President for Social Infrastructure and Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Party.

Cde. Narainé, a qualified engineer, first became actively involved in politics in 1972 and his first assignment was in the Ministry of Economic Planning, then under the portfolio of Prime Minister, Forbes Burnham.

He later became responsible for the Ministry of Works and he was involved in the development of just about every bit of infrastructure put in place by the PNC Government.

The massive MMA scheme, the Tapacuma Irrigation Scheme, the Linden-Soesdyke Highway, the East Demerara and East Berbice Highways, the Demerara Harbour Bridge and the West Demerara road network were all undertaken under the political supervision of Cde. Narainé.

Speaking at a simple farewell ceremony last week organised by the Congress Committee of the Party, Cde. Narainé said he accepted the invitation to serve Guyana in the area of politics because he wanted to change some situations

prevalent during the colonial era.

And while he will now not be actively involved in local politics, he will continue to serve the political interests of Guyana overseas, he said.

Party General Secretary, Cde. Ptolemy Reid, in a brief address at the function, said Cde. Narainé had been enlightening and advising the Party since 1964.

He gave up all his ambitions and hopes to take the risk of the "casual, casual" employment — as political employment is referred to — and he has offered his services to the Party, believing in Guyana's Socialist development, Cde. Reid said.

Cde. Reid noted that as Chairman of the Finance Sub-committee, Cde. Narainé was important especially as the Party budget grew and activities increased. It was his duty to ensure that the coffers had money, he added.

Others to pay tribute to Cde. Narainé were Cdes. Malcolm Parris, Leslie Dundas, Eugene Gilbert, Dolly Small, Seeram Prasad and George Henry, the architect.

**EDITOR'S NOTE:**

For our part we have come to respect the contributions by Cde. Steve Narainé, especially since he has been responsible for the construction of the new Congress Place. He had also begun work on the rest of the Congress Place Complex.

## NEW GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS ADDRESS CARICOM 'RULES OF ORIGIN'

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 25 Oct 83 p 9

[Text]

**THE Government has made some new regulations to ensure stricter compliance with the Caribbean Community Common Market rules of origin.**

The regulations, just published in the legal supplement of the Official Gazette, have retroactive effect to January 1 and amend the schedule of principal regulations to include another declaration form.

On the new "Form 3" an application for certificate of origin, the applicant must specify the grounds on which the goods (for export) are claimed to comply with provisions governing the determination of Common Market Origin.

The applicant must also undertake to submit, at the request of the appropriate authorities, any additional supporting evidence which those authorities, may

require for the purpose of issuing the certificate of origin, and undertake, if required, to agree to any inspection of accounts or to any check on the processes of manufacture of the goods.

If materials imported from outside the Common Market or of undetermined origin have been used in the manufacture of the goods in question, information about the materials, their country of origin, the manufacturing processes or other circumstances enabling the goods to qualify and the goods produced must be stated.

Applicants must also give information (if a percentage value-added condition obtains) about value of imported materials, export price of the finished product, import entries, invoices, declaration by the producer and other data

relating to the materials used or the finished product.

A note attached to the regulations state that a declaration on the certificate of origin form must be prepared by the exporter of goods and submitted together with a Common Market Origin application form to the certifying authority of the country of exportation which will, if satisfied, certify the certificate of origin and return it to the exporter for transmission to the importer in the country of destination.

The certifying authority will retain the Common Market Origin application form duly completed and signed by the exporter, it added.

Persons who furnish or cause to be furnished untrue declarations render themselves liable to penalties.

CSO: 3298/190

## NEGATIVE BALANCE OF TRADE RECORDED FOR FIRST QUARTER OF '83

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 25 Oct 83 p 14

[Text] GUYANA has recorded a negative trade balance for the first three months of this year.

According to figures from the Statistical Bureau of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Finance, between January and March of 1983, this country imported \$190,6 million in goods while exporting only \$114,2 million in commodities.

The figures reflect a trade deficit of \$76,4 million for the period under review.

This deficit is much larger than the \$53,8 million deficit which was recorded for the first three months of 1982 when Guyana imported \$217,2 million in goods. During this period, Guyana managed to export only \$163,4 million worth of products.

The figures revealed that during the first three months of this year, petroleum and petroleum products accounted for \$63,0 million or about 38 per cent of the country's import bill.

Compared with the first three months of last year, the oil import bill for the corresponding period this year was \$61 million--two million higher.

Other major imports during this period included spare parts, machinery and equipment and industrial raw materials which together accounted for \$51,3 million and drugs, pharmaceuticals and chemicals which together cost over \$20 million.

Bauxite accounted for the major share of this country's export earnings during the period under review. The sale of this commodity grossed \$50,2 million or 44 per cent of the export earnings. However, this was over \$49 million less than that earned during the corresponding period in 1982.

Sugar and rice accounted for \$48 million and \$9,7 million respectively during the period under review. Timber and timber products, shrimp, pharmaceuticals and alcohol, also made significant earnings during the period.

The figures also show that Guyana enjoyed favourable trade balances with Canada, France, Italy, Japan, Thailand and Venezuela.

## BACKGROUND REVIEW OF UNION DISSATISFACTION WITH GOVERNMENT

Bridgetown CARIBBEAN CONTACT in English Nov 83 p 6

[Article by Terrence K. Millington]

[Text]

GEORGETOWN—The smouldering dissatisfaction of organised labour in Guyana flared into life at the recent 30th. Annual Delegates' Conference of the Guyana Trades' Union Congress (September 27-October 2). For the first time in many years President **Forbes Burnham's** ruling Peoples' National Congress (PNC) was unable to maintain the facade of a trade union movement united and supportive of its policies.

In the longer term, the significance of the shambles to which the TUC conference was reduced is likely to be that the old methods of control of the unions will no longer be sufficient to keep them in line. The PNC—which operates under Burnham's doctrine of "Party paramountcy over the Government"—will either have to give ground or extend to the newly-dissident unions the coercion which has become the prominent feature of its dealings with other independent labour organisations.

Signals of an ensuing confrontation may have been read in the crude retrenchment policy recently applied to 1,712 workers in the bauxite industry in retaliation for a prolonged strike by the two unions in the industry, the Guyana Mine Workers' Union (GMWU) and the Bauxite Supervisors' Union (BSU) which took place in May and June of this year (*August Contact*).

A patent lack of good faith on the part of the government in its handling of what began as a one-day per week strike over lack of essential foodstuffs, ended in a full-scale strike. The subsequent firing of the 1,712 workers provided additional fuel to the discontent with-

in the TUC ranks.

Continuously, since their meeting with President Burnham in December last year, the TUC and its affiliates have been demanding the resumption of importation of essential foodstuff, such as flour, milk and oil. The workers are simply too frustrated seeking food to bother about productivity—in any sector—the President was told.

Government fears that the bauxite unions, which enjoy considerable prestige within the labour movement, would carry their grievances into the Conference, led it to ensure that **Hamilton Green**, a Vice-President and party strongman, gave the Opening Address. Further, two government ministers, **Kenneth**

**Denny** and **Sahalludin**, as well as the President's Political Advisor, **Elvin McDavid**, State Corporation Chairman **Robert Williams** and **Agnes Benn-Kirton**, senior member of the Presidential Secretariat, all were checked in at the conference as delegates.

If the choice of Green was intended to quell the bolder spirits in the TUC, then it proved a miscalculation.

Met by a large group of picketers, Green addressed a minority of delegates.

That the subsequent awakening to the real bitterness felt by the workers' representatives should be a rude one for the TUC Executive and its government allies, once again confirmed the distance which has grown up

between the PNC and the grass-roots in the country.

The conference never got beyond procedural matters. The ruling party quickly showed its strategy by leading the attack against the seating of the GMWU following a request by that union for an extension of time to pay its membership dues because of the recent strike and its loss of membership from dismissals.

Although the TUC's rules allow for this not unusual situation for unions, Sahalludin, who is Minister of State in the Ministry of Agriculture and delegate of the Teachers' Association, formulated a resolution to debar the GMWU from the Conference.

An outraged George Daniels, President of the Public Service Union (PSU) and First Vice-President of the TUC, led a walk-out in which he was joined by seven other unions and a section of an eighth.

These included the Commercial and Clerical Workers' Union (CCWU), Guyana Agricultural Workers' Union (GAWU), National Association of Agricultural, Commercial and Industrial Employees (NAACIE), University of Guyana Staff Association (UGSA), the two bauxite unions, the National Union of Public Service Employees (NUPSE) and a section of the Transport Workers' Union.

*Ironically, the close association of the PSU, NUPSE and the bauxite unions to the ruling party in the past had resulted in their having larger delegations to TUC Conferences than their true numbers warranted.*

Following a caucus in which they recognised their strength, the dissenting unions returned to the Conference and the GMWU, as well as five other unions that had withheld dues in solidarity with it, paid up.

On resumption, the aging and very experienced General Secretary of the TUC, Joseph Pollydore, dealt a scathing rebuke to the haughty and opinionated Sahalludin who, he felt, had arrogantly dominated the debate over seating the GMWU.

The following morning as delegates assembled to get down to business, having already lost a day of the Conference, the Chief of the Fire Services entered the hall and ordered two firemen, delegates of the PSU to immediately report for duty, adding that he would send two others to replace them.

Once again the Conference was reduced to an uproar at this clear retaliation against the PSU-led walk-out the previous day. A motion was passed suspending Conference business until the two delegates from the Fire Services were re-seated.

Despite representations from the TUC Executive to the Minister of Home Affairs this never materialised—the Minister claiming he had the right in an emergency to take such action. But no "emergency" case was established.

As with the assured presence of "ministerial delegates", the incident involving the firemen strikingly revealed the inability of the PNC to any longer trust the rank-and-file of the unions it supposedly controls to carry out the party's orders.

The issue was never resolved and the final act in the drama came late on the final day of the Conference when an attempt by PSU's George Daniels to have the meeting resume its business was thwarted by the pro-government delegates who clung to the legalism of the earlier resolution not to do business without the two firemen delegates.

Led by TUC President Samuel Walker, government-supported unions withdrew



from the conference hall leaving the independent unions in nominal control of proceedings.

*Despite the evident temptation to assume control of the labour movement these unions, however, chose to hold their fire for a more considered occasion rather than take on the mire of legal wranglings which such a step would have provoked, and which they risked not being able to sustain in an atmosphere of divide-and-rule politics.*

### CHOICES

Whether or not the dissenting unions should have taken control of the TUC will be a topic of debate for some time to come, but it should not distract from the very real opening which has emerged in a labour movement that has been sluggish and ineffective for years.

From an original and long-standing four—CCWU; NAACIE; GAWU and UGSA—the independent unions, within a matter of months, have now grown to eight, representing the largest bloc of organised labour in the country, bridging racial, geographical and industrial differences.

The debate in the short-term is likely to be over the advisability of forming a new confederation of trade unions, allowing the old TUC to wither on the PNC vine, or alternatively, press to reform and revitalise the existing organisation. Both options have their attractions.

*Clearly, the PNC is not going to allow that choice to be made calmly and rationally. The PSU will undoubtedly now become a candidate for treatment similar to that meted out to the baux-*

*ite unions earlier this year. Retrenchment is now the attractive if cowardly used weapon of a regime in deep crisis.*

PNC threats in that case only resulted in a closing of ranks between the bauxite unions' leadership and the rank-and-file which was more adamant than the leadership over the issues at stake.

If a similar pattern emerges in the PSU, the likely outcome would be a drawing closer together of the executive and membership. This would carry the union more decisively outside the grip of the PNC. Retaliatory measures in the bauxite industry led to the dismissal from the State-owned company of 39 shop stewards and the Treasurer of the GMWU. The reaction of the PSU's leadership to threats and the government's victimisation of the union's members will be closely monitored by more than the independent unions.

In less desperate times, the government's tactic, when faced with a revolt of the kind which took place at the TUC Conference, would have been a mixture of olive branch and blandishments. However, as one delegate pointed out, this can no longer happen because "there is no bearing tree". In lieu of perks the PNC regime has to rely on threats.

In the meantime, a first practical step to assert their independence was the decision by the new grouping in the TUC to send an alternative delegation to the Caribbean Congress of Labour's Annual Meeting in Barbados this month to explain the real situation facing the working class in Guyana to their regional colleagues.

## MINISTRY REPORT NOTES SUCCESS OF COOPERATIVES IN 1982

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 2 Nov 83 p 4

[Text]

GUYANA last year registered a new emphasis in the development of agriculture co-operatives societies, according to the annual report of the Ministry of Manpower and Co-operatives.

The report said that in spite of a number of problems facing the Ministry and the agriculture sub-sector, a significant amount of guidance and co-ordination was given by the co-operatives division of the Ministry.

The co-operatives division is responsible for the administration of co-operatives and community development, craft production and design and women's affairs.

During 1982, the division was restructured in an effort to improve its operational efficiency and to give more technical support to the programmes in the ten administrative regions. This restructuring resulted in the head office staff being reduced from 84 to 54 employees.

In the process of restructuring, some senior positions were deleted, others were upgraded while the nucleus of the planning unit was established. A management services officer and an economist were appointed during the period under review.

There were no Deputy Chief Co-operatives and Deputy Chief Craft Production officers during 1982. But, the posts of production/marketing and design officers were included to enable the craft industry to become a viable entity thereby providing more avenues for self

employment.

At the same time, the positions of a planner and a management services officer were formalised to provide the necessary support for a programme of appraisals and evaluation and follow up work in the Ministry.

During the year, 30 co-operatives and two friendly societies were registered, however, two societies were cancelled during this period, said the report.

In the Ministry, the co-operatives section was the most vibrant even though the craft production division was able to capture a small share of the handicraft market in St Vincent and the Grenadines.

Nineteen artisanal fishermen co-operative societies produced some 15 million kilograms of fish or 80 per cent of the national output during the year under review.

In addition, the export of fish glue and shark fins to the United States and the United Kingdom earned well over a quarter of a million (G) dollars.

During 1982 also, 243 co-operative societies were engaged in the production of crops excluding sugar cane. Those societies which took part in cane farming harvested a total of 205 262 tonnes of cane during the period.

The report noted that the agriculture co-operative societies achieved their levels of performance despite several problems including lack of financing, poor drainage and irrigation, land fatigue, feed shortages and managerial difficulties.

## NEW 'FOREIGN CURRENCY ACCOUNTS' THROUGH BANKS INITIATED

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 25 Oct 83 p 2

[Text] WITH effect from yesterday, there will be instituted a system of "foreign currency accounts" operated initially by 10 selected private sector firms through locally-based commercial banks.

The system of foreign currency accounts is designed to facilitate the importation of needed spares and inputs by selected firms whose activities are deemed pivotal to the national export thrust.

This system, which is based on the principle of automatic allocation of a firm's export earnings for its import of needed spares and inputs, was signalled in the 1983 Budget speech, and had then been targeted to go into operation at the end of March, 1983.

However, in order to give the experiment the best chance of success, further time was spent in discussions among the initially participating firms, their commercial bankers, and the Central Bank. These discussions focused on the objective of tailoring the system to suit the individual needs and circumstances of each participating firm.

The firms chosen to participate in the new system operate in the areas of timber, processed food, and manufacturing exports--some of the main areas of the national export thrust.

The results of these initiatives will be monitored closely to ascertain how the system might be refined and extended to include other firms in the public, private, and co-operative sectors whose production activities are important to the national export thrust in accord with the policy objectives as outlined in the 1983 Budget speech.

A small monitoring committee, including representatives of the private sector commercial and manufacturing associations, is to be established shortly.

CSO: 3298/190

## 'ECONOMIC SABOTAGE' DESCRIBED AS THREAT TO NATION

## Hoyte Remarks

Georgetown NEW NATION in English 25 Oct 83 p 2

[Text]

Central Executive Committee member, Cde Desmond Hoyte, has said economic sabotage is undermining the national economy. Cde Hoyte at a recent meeting of the Bourda Number Three PNC group, said that economic sabotage takes many forms and as Party members, we should take note of the norms.

Discussing the General Secretary's report to Congress on the task to Party members, Cde Hoyte noted that economic sabotage does not only take

the form of strikes. People, in some cases, do not give a full day's work for a full day's pay and this is another type of economic sabotage, he added.

He urged members to guard against those who may try to destroy the economy by organising different forms of economic sabotage. During the meeting members were urged to ensure leadership by example and to make certain that they clearly understood the tasks assigned by the Cde General Secretary.

## Problem of Smugglers

Georgetown NEW NATION in English 25 Oct 83 p 3

[Text]

Regional Supervisor for Region Six, Cde Santon Lambert, has criticised unscrupulous persons who smuggle large quantities of sugar, rum, gold, petroleum products and other essentials to neighbouring Suriname in exchange for wheat flour, sardines, onions, splitpeas and other non-essentials.

He described the people involved in this illegal practice as economic saboteurs, and as unpatriotic. By smuggling these items not only do they cause the government concern, they also cause people to suffer for the want of these very essentials, he said.

Cde Lambert pointed out that this act of sabotage is wrecking the national economy and he stressed that the police must step up on their patrol in order to combat this disastrous situation.

Cde Lambert disclosed that what is needed to be done, is the re-organising of the quota system throughout the Region.

Guysuco he said is selling sugar to private persons as well as to government corporations and agencies. Sugar should only be sold to Government Corporations with the Region monitoring the distribution. Cde Lambert commended.

He said some shops that have a quota for sugar do not openly make the commodity available to the public, but release the commodity at blackmarket prices through the back door.

The Region, he added, is looking at prospective persons who will be given quotas to sell sugar and other food supplies.

It is understood that a 100-pound sack of Guyana sugar fetches one hundred guilders in Suriname.

Shop-keepers are offered as much as \$200. for a bag of sugar by these unscrupulous traders.

## PNC BLAMED FOR DETERIORATION OF AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS

Georgetown MIRROR in English 23 Oct 83 p 4

[Text]

**THE** much-touted Agricultural Settlements, along the Linden-Soesdyke Highway are falling apart. Deterioration and neglect have set in, and more and more settlers are leaving. Many houses and homesteads are being abandoned, and farms left behind. These settlements were organised by the PNC regime some years ago with great fanfare.

The zone was hailed as an agricultural area, and despite the fact that the area is predominantly sandy, PNC hacks and so-called "experts" hailed the area as "prime for agriculture. They advocated the cultivation of legumes, vegetables, root crops and pine-apple. Farmers were also urged to grow citrus crops, and rear livestock like sheep, cattle and pigs. Some of the settlers even reared poultry.

The government in the meantime set up an elaborate superstructure at Kuru Kururu with a bloated bureaucracy and elaborate equipment including huge trucks. However matters went awry from an early period. Farmers complained of not getting vital inputs readily, lack of consumer goods, expensive transportation, lack of markets, lack of aid in the form of loans and credits, etc.

It is now observed that as the farmers quit the zone, they dismantle their homes as far as they are able. Zinc sheets are ripped off, and either sold or taken away to other areas; windows and doors are removed, etc. This

collapse of the settlements is seen as yet another PNC agricultural flop.

Mirror understands that from the very start of the elaborate project, the regime was warned that the area was unsuited to agriculture because of the nature of the soil. At present with the dry weather being experienced, crops are withering and dying in the heat. However, the regime went ahead and poured money into it. Many PNC supporters some of whom held office jobs in the city were given farmsteads and homesteads. A lot of them from the city and its environs hadn't the foggiest idea of farming efficiently.

Over the past 3 years it was noticed in the Gazette that many of these "farmers" lost interest, and government re-possessed the lands which were leased to them.

Following the regime's exhortation for settlers, many persons believed the call was genuine and took up plots all along the Linden - Soesdyke Highway. Some of them received small loans to get started, but could not sustain themselves. The soil was discovered to be 'dead sand' and virtually unproductive as far as food crops are concerned.

Some of the settlers who still refuse to give up (and are sticking it out despite the odds) have switched to charcoal burning.



having abandoned the agricultural aspect of the project. The big administrative complex at Kuru Kururu is rapidly becoming a ghost town, but with the bureaucracy intact. The general air of deterioration pervades the place. There is a chronic shortage of agricultural chemicals, fertilizers, pesticides, etc. These items are strictly rationed and doled out in ridiculous quantities to applicants from within and outside the complex.

CSO: 3298/192

## SUGAR PRODUCTION AT ONLY 29 PERCENT OF OCTOBER TARGET

Georgetown MIRROR in English 23 Oct 83 p 4

[Text] THE production level in the sugar industry for the second crop is 29 per cent below the target up to the week ending October 15, 1983. A Guysuco release said that 87,620 tons of sugar were produced, which amounts to 71% of the estimate of 123,545 tons. The week's production stood at 8,970 tons sugar which represents 'an achievement of approximately 82 per cent of the week's estimate of 10,950 tons.

Guysuco again complained about 'ideal weather conditions' being marred by 'factory mechanical down-time,' 'out-of-cane periods,' and 'absenteeism of cane harvesters' meaning cane cutters. The state corporation also pointed out that strikes 'seriously affected Albion estate in particular.'

The corporation disclosed that the mechanical problem which caused a shut-down of Rose Hall factory for a significant part of the previous week 'has been resolved and the factory is now in operation.'

Guysuco urged the workers to "do their utmost to ensure the successful completion of this crop, which means so much towards helping the country to solve the economic problems faced by the nation." The fact remains that workers are eager to work, but official intransigence usually interferes with their efforts. For example at Uitvlugt estate, W.D.C., there has been a solid strike by cane-cutters for nearly two weeks.

First the matter started over poor pricing of bad canes by field management. The workers were offered \$5 extra to cut the bad canes, but demanded more. After a week-long strike by over 200 cane cutters management gave in and agreed to pay \$16 extra. Now the strike continues however because management refuses to make the days of the strike "non-available" which the workers and the GAWU say is a "Violation of established principle in the sugar industry". While the strike is going on, vital production is lagging.

CSO: 3298/191

CHRONICLE ABSENT 13 DAYS, RETURNS WITH 'SPECIAL ISSUE'

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 25 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by Courtney Gibson]

[Text]

Well, we're back, with a 24-page issue [and at no increased price] in which we attempt to cover much of the ground lost when we ceased publication 13 days ago.

We do regret that this special issue is dominated by a story as disturbing as that coming out of Grenada. But the emphasis could not

have been on any other happening.

It seems, therefore, that this issue of the Guyana Chronicle is of a two-fold importance — it is the first issue after a record 13-day non-appearance of the tabloid, and it spotlights an unfortunate Caribbean event.

CSO: 3298/189

## HOYTE ASSURES FARMERS OF CONTINUED FULL GOVERNMENT SUPPORT

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 25 Oct 83 p 5

[Text]

East Berbice — (GNA) — Vice-President for Production, Desmond Hoyte Sunday assured farmers in the East Berbice area that government would give all assistance to help solve some of their problems so as to make agriculture an enjoyable pursuit and enable farmers to earn a decent living.

He was at the time speaking at a farmers congress sponsored by Region Six and held at the Crabwood Creek Primary School where he congratulated farmers for the good job they have been doing.

The Vice-President also called on farmers to remain in unity and not to create an atmosphere of uneasiness and distress among themselves.

"For", he said, "this is the farmers day. We need to look upon our effort as one of great commitment and to make sure that nothing divides us."

Cde Hoyte told the packed hall that government was prepared to use all its resources and authority to support the farmers throughout the length and breadth of the country.

He explained that farmers would be given every opportunity to earn a decent living and to take care of their families just like everybody else in the community.

Rice, he said, would

continue to be an important aspect of this country's agriculture development plan, but he pointed out, "We need to give equal emphasis to our brother farmers — those engaged in vegetable cultivation, fishing and cattle rearing."

Directing his remarks to some of the problems raised by the participants, Cde Hoyte agreed that farmers needed to be supported with loans, and Gaibank would have to make changes to ensure that absence of transport and leases should not be blockages to the arrangement.

He also warned that public officers who were apathetic, or who demanded rewards for work they were being paid to do, would be dealt with severely. The Vice-President further explained that residents must not wait on Government Ministers to come to the Region before they stated their problems.

Farmers must keep in constant touch with their regional chairmen and regional councillors who must use their authority and power to deal with matters on the spot, he said.

At Sunday's congress, five farmers who were given awards for their outstanding contribution to agriculture in the country were congratulated by Cde Hoyte and Regional Chairman Surujnarine Singh.

## ESSEQUIBO AREAS EXPECT TO SEE BETTER STANDARD OF LIVING

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 25 Oct 83 p 14

[Text] **THE** standard of living of residents at Alik, Lanaballi, Baboon Hole and Makouria, all Essequibo riverain areas, is expected to show an improvement following a recent visit to the areas by President Forbes Burnham.

The President also visited Bartica, the administrative centre for Region 7, where he set in motion a plan of action for correcting a number of problems facing residents.

The settlers had complained of difficulties in obtaining firearm licences and supplies of fuel, transportation problems particularly affecting students attending schools at Bartica or Parika. Among other problems Cde. Burnham was asked to look into, were the construction of a boat ramp at Alik, repairs to headteachers' houses at Alik, Lanaballi, and Makouria, and the establishment of a regular and predictable Medex (health) service for the river settlements.

With respect to firearm licences, Cde. Burnham ordered that licences be

processed and distributed by monthend. He warned, however, that persons with a reputation for hostility would not be issued licences.

Cde. Burnham told residents that he would liaise with the state-owned Guyana Oil Company (GUYOIL) to look into the possibility of setting up a fuel outlet or to appoint an agent to service the settlements.

The President whose visit to the areas followed requests from delegates at the Fifth Biennial Congress of the ruling PNC, promised to arrange shortly for health personnel to work "on a more reliable, regular and predictable service."

"I don't see that your problems are great ones that your government and you, through the Regions cannot easily solve," he told residents. He made it clear that repairs to the headteachers' houses and the construction of the ramp would not be done totally by government. "We would provide the materials, but the actual putting down of the ramp and the labour for the house repairs would be done by you on a self-help basis."

And at Makouria, the Party Leader said he would

give the residents a mechanically operated press for extracting oil from nuts which are available locally. He said that government would be pushing agriculture there and as a result, a resident agricultural field assistant would be on the job by year-end. Cde. Burnham, who helicoptered to the settlements, assured residents that a ready market, through the Guyana Pharmaceutical Corporation (GPC), is available for any amount of wild nuts from Makouria.

On the Bartica leg of the meet-the-people tour, students as well as teaching staff asked for assistance in repairing the Bartica Community High School. The President said that he would take steps to ensure that there is a proper community high school at Bartica and at the same time provide the sub-region with training facilities which could compare with those in any other Region in the country.

Steps are also to be taken to provide increased quotas of textbooks and furniture. Repairs to the school would be done by self-help with the Office of the President providing the materials.



## CATTLE RAISING BEING REHABILITATED IN REGION 9

Georgetown NEW NATION in English 30 Oct 83 p 2

[Text]

The Regional Democratic Council of Region 9 is now diverting its attention towards rehabilitating the cattle industry in the Rupununi.

The Regional Chairman, Cde. Harold D'Aguiar made this disclosure when he launched Agriculture Month in the region.

Cde. D'Aguiar called on the farmers to have a serious look at the industry, and warned that the task of revitalising it was not left on farmers alone, but rather a close working relationship between farmers and the agriculture extension workers.

He said that there has been a drastic decline and negative growth in the cattle industry over the past decade.

The Regional Chairman remarked that in the early seventies, the cattle population was about 80,000. The current population stands at about 30,000.

**REASONS**

Several reasons have been cited for such a decline, he said. Bad ranch management practices, rustling, indiscriminate slaughtering of females, unattractive prices, rabies and foot and mouth disease were the major ones.

Region 9 depends largely on beef production for consumption, and as a source of income directly or indirectly for about 80 per cent of the population.

There are about 24 ranches in the Rupununi, and it is planned that all ranches would be closely monitored. Gaibank is also expected to provide financial assistance where necessary.

During Agri Month, some of the activities such as seminars, lectures and other training programmes would be done to facilitate the improvement of management systems and techniques.

The Agriculture Department in the region is responsible for obtaining the necessary inputs and making these available for sale to ranchers.

By 1984, the region has projected a total of 800,000 pounds of beef. At present about 400,000 pounds of beef is shipped out of the region to Coastal Guyana.

It was observed that the amount of beef consumed in the region is either equivalent to or more than that which is shipped to coastal markets.

The Regional Democratic Council has, therefore, planned to introduce alternative meat production in the region. It is expected to establish swine breeding units, breeding stock for sheep and goat herd, as well as the establishment of poultry units in various villages.

If the programme works as planned the cattle industry would take approximately 12 years total revival.

GOLD SALES TO BOARD UP 100 PERCENT UNDER NEW PRICE

Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 27 Oct 83 p 5

[Text]

THERE has been "an almost 100 per cent increase" in the sales of gold to the Guyana Gold Board since the price paid to miners for the precious metal was raised just under two months ago, Minister of Energy and Mines **Harun Rashid** said yesterday.

In early September, it was announced that the Gold Board would, with immediate effect, pay 4,9 times the United States dollar denomination for each ounce of gold sold to it by miners.

The new gold price was one of several incentives announced by the Ministry of Energy and Mines with a view to stimulating gold production and encouraging miners to sell their gold to the Board.

In an interview yesterday, **Cde. Rashid** said he had begun visiting mining communities in order to explain to miners these incentives and regulations to curb the illegal movement of gold and diamonds.

He has already visited Issano, Potaro, Marshall Falls and Middle Mazaruni.

The Energy and Mines Minister said it was likely that Parliament's approval would be sought to include imprisonment in addition to heavy fines as penalties to be imposed on those found dealing in the illegal trading of gold.

## BRIEFS

**BAN ON PPP MEETINGS**--THE constitutional right of the People's Progressive Party to hold public meetings has once again been denied by the Guyana Police. This time the Commissioner denied permission for the parliamentary opposition party to address bauxite workers in the Wismar-McKenzie mining settlement. This is the second time permission to hold meetings in the bauxite town has been refused. Just over a month ago the police, after granting prior permission, intervened and stopped a PPP public meeting in Kitty at which Parliamentarian Narbada Persaud was discussing the serious implications for working people of another IMF-PNC deal. In the instant case of fundamental rights violation, the PPP notified the police of its intention to hold two public meetings scheduled for October 13 last in Linden. The police responded with a refusal of permission. The meeting was to be addressed by two trade unionists who are Central Committee members of the PPP. While the police continues to muzzle the opposition no hindrance is placed in the way of the ruling party in its exercise of the right to hold public meetings. At PNC-government functions the police not only take part in parades and help to make up crowds, but provide musical entertainment as well. [Text] [Georgetown MIRROR in English 16 Oct 83 p 1]

**NEWSPRINT ISSUE**--GOVERNMENT has told the Caribbean Press Council that it is willing to allow the 20 rolls of newsprint, which the five leading papers in the Caribbean have offered the Catholic Standard and the Mirror, to enter the country, if the paper were consigned to the Government, and if it were divided up proportionately between the various media of Guyana, including the Government owned papers. Mr. Alister Hughes, Executive Secretary of the Caribbean Press Council has written to Minister of Information Yvonne Harewood-Benn, on Oct. 3, 1983, asking her to state in what proportions she suggests that the newsprint be distributed. [Text] [Georgetown CATHOLIC STANDARD in English 23 Oct 83 p 1]

**SUPREME CONGRESS SCHEDULE**--President Forbes Burnham has issued two proclamations proroguing the first session of the Supreme Congress of the People convened last year, and naming December 16 next as the date for the commencement of a new session. The first session convened on November 30, 1982 will be prorogued on November 30, 1983 and the next session starting December 16 will also begin at the National Cultural Centre. Subsequent sittings of the new session will again be held at the Public Buildings. [Text] [Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 26 Oct 83 p 16]

TUC LINDEN PROBE--THE Executive Council of the Guyana Trades Union Congress will send a team of trade unionists to Linden to investigate the situation in the mining area. The team is expected to hold talks with management officials of Guymine and executives of the two trade unions, the Guyana Mine Workers' Union and the Guyana Bauxite Supervisors' Association before returning to the city. The team will be investigating the effects of the retrenchment of hundreds of workers in the industry. [Text] [Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 25 Oct 83 p 2]

TUC DELEGATION--THE President of the Guyana Trades Union Congress, Cde. Samuel Walker, will lead the country's trade union delegation to the Annual Delegates' Conference of the Caribbean Congress of Labour to be held in Barbados from November 7 to 9. A number of observers will also attend the conference. Other members of the delegation are Cde. Joseph Pollydore, General Secretary of the TUC; Cde. George Daniels, First Vice-President; and Cde. T. Anson Sancho, member of the Executive Council. Observers to the conference will include Cde. Jean Persico, President of the Guyana Teachers' Association; Cde. Lincon Lewis, General Secretary of the Guyana Bauxite Supervisors' Union; Cde. Stanton Critchlow, General Secretary of the Guyana Labour Union; Cde. Frank Facey, Secretary General of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union; Cde. Cleveland Charran, General Secretary of the Man Power Citizens' Association; Cde. Agnes Bend-Kirton of the Guyana Labour Union and Cde. R. E. Hoyte of the Public Employees' Union. At the conference trade union leaders of the Caribbean will discuss the economic situation in the Caribbean area, the labour situation, recent incidents in Grenada and the possible filling of the position of Secretary-Treasurer of the Caribbean Congress of Labour. The post became vacant some months ago following the resignation of Cde. Burns Bonadie who has taken up a ministerial position in his country. [Text] [Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 26 Oct 83 p 3]

GARMENT INDUSTRY STRATEGY--MEMBERS of the Investigative Commission on the regional garment industry yesterday morning stressed the necessity for marketing strategy designed to seek out markets for garments produced in the region. The Commission, which is on a fact-finding tour of the region's garment manufacturers, particularly emphasised the specialised garment markets, where, for example high priced, high quality garments are in demand. Not only would this target market allow for small-scale production but it would also present the companies involved with the opportunity to earn much needed "hard" (foreign) currency. To achieve this end the Commission agreed that there was need for greater co-operation among all the agencies concerned. Indeed in the recommendations contained in the interim report of the Commission the experts declared: "We believe that the development of this industry will require a strong co-operative effort involving the governments, manufacturers, distributors, trade unions and consumers. There is therefore an imposing need for consultative machinery to exchange information between these groups and to formulate recommendations for the development of the industry on a continuing basis." [Excerpt] [Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 2 Nov 83 p 3]

FISHERIES DEVELOPMENT--EAST Berbice--The Guyana Government is to undertake a three-million-dollar (G) fisheries development programme in Region Six to boost the fishing industry in the region. The project which will be launched

early next year with financial assistance from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) includes the establishment of fish-landing, fish storage and boat repair facilities at No. 43 and No. 66 Villages. The project also involves the establishment of an ice-producing plant at No. 66. According to Berbice Fisheries Officer George Bailey the project when completed will boost fish production by over 20 per cent. At present, he said, over five million pounds of fish and shrimp were being produced by Berbice fishermen who are engaged in the operation of some 180 fishing vessels. [Text] [Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 2 Nov 83 p 3]

OIL FROM NUTS--In keeping with Government's policy to make Guyana self-sufficient in edible oil, the Guyana Pharmaceutical Corporation has decided to provide every Region in Guyana with a portable hydraulic oil-mill for the extraction of oil from wild nuts. At Region 4, the first mill of its kind was presented to Regional Chairman Ivan Remington, and has been successfully put into operation. Farmers will also be given first-hand information relative to the areas where the wild nuts (all of the palm family) can be found. They will also be told about the quality of nuts to look for in order to get greater production and productivity. According to the G.P.C. analysis, the nuts available in the country are Brazilian nuts, sawari nuts, turu nuts, awara, kokerite and Akuyuru. The Brazilian nuts, with an oil content of 55 per cent, can be located in the Guyana-Suriname and Guyana-Brazil borders. The trees cover thousands of square miles and are sparsely distributed. [Excerpts] [Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 25 Oct 83 p 2]

CSO: 3298/193



## THREAT TO NATIONAL IDENTITY SEEN IN PROTECTORATE PROPOSAL

San Pedro Sula TIEMPO 22 Oct 83 p 6

[Article: "Will Honduras Become a Protectorate of the United States"?]

[Text] The Honduran Government has proposed to the U.S. Government that it become a protectorate of the United States.

The proposal--which seems incredible--is contained in the document presented to the United States Government's bipartisan commission for Central America headed by Henry A. Kissenger.

This document, of which we have only published the so-called executive summary to date and which President Roberto Suazo Cordova personally handed Dr Kissinger the 14th of this month, besides containing a request for \$10 billion in direct investments from the U.S. over a period of 12 years for medium and long-term development in Honduras, also says the following in the paragraph dealing with national security:

"Our National Security Council has proposed a special bilateral mutual defense treaty with the United States similar to the agreement between the United States and South Korea, wherein the conditions of payment for security assistance would be part of a long-term agreement between the United States and Honduras. It is a matter that should come under treaty. Such an accord, which we need, should offer the following:

"1) Low interest payments, extended payments, and extended grace periods. 2) Negotiations for the establishment of joint air and naval bases. 3) Fewer restrictions on the deployment of U.S. forces that would permit more frequent joint training and exercises. 4) A substantial increase in training for the Honduran armed forces at reduced costs in order to augment our self-defense capability...."

In support of the request the document handed the bipartisan commission indicated the following:

"If America (probably referring to the United States of America) permits the rapid consolidation of the communist system in Nicaragua...the long-term security of the Honduran democracy will be uncertain. The democratic existence



of Honduras in the long term with a Marxist government consolidated in Nicaragua would only be feasible if it were associated with the United States (another Puerto Rico) or with the indefinite deployment of U.S. troops on Honduran soil (another Korea)...."

A reading of the executive summary clearly shows that the nation's Security Council, and therefore the Honduran Government, has opted for a Korean solution, that is, "the indefinite deployment of U.S. troops on Honduran soil." In both cases, that of Puerto Rico and that of Korea, it means the establishment of a protectorate.

What is a protectorate? The "Dictionary of Common Law" [Diccionario de Derecho Usual] by G. Cavanellas defines it thus: "A system of sovereignty, almost always in theory, shared with a world power that tutors another country, represents it internationally, and dictates its principles, a state that needs 'protection,' more or less, of a cultural or other nature. In reality, this is a colonial government with a certain amount of respect or deference given to the 'native' authorities."

The "Law Dictionary" [Diccionario de Derecho] by Rafael de Pina Vara defines protectorate this way: "Guardianship exercised by one state over another that is incapable of solving its internal problems; in practice this means cultural, military, health and other protection designed to raise its standard of living and to put it into condition to take care of itself."

D. Jose Flores y Flores, in his "Excerpt of International Law" [Extracto de Derecho Internacional] makes a distinction according to the nature of the pact with the protector: "If the pact does not deny the protected state is authority for dealing with other nations, to make war or peace, or assume international obligations, it is not denied international status. If, on the contrary, it is not left with legal or actual rights and must depend on the protecting state for its foreign relations, it cannot be considered a member of the international community. This rule also applies to those subjected to feudal domination."

Since this matter transcends the authority of any chief executive in any part of the world--except, perhaps, in Honduras--it is vital that a national debate take place among all the sectors of the country, independent of what Congress does.

Even a blind man could see that this radically affects the future of Honduras, its institutions, its sovereignty, and above all its national identity.

9015

CSO: 3248/123

## OVER 100 MILLION LEMPIRAS LOST THROUGH CONTRABAND, FRAUD

San Pedro Sula TIEMPO in Spanish 19 Oct 83 p 5

[Text] Attorney Jorge Yescas Oliva, an official of the Central American Public Administration Institute (ICAP), said yesterday that those who commit fiscal fraud and the crime of smuggling by using their political influence are the "real subversives who undermine the foundations of the democratic system."

The Honduran citizen, who has distinguished himself in the customs field at the Central American regional level, expressed his opinions in the talk show broadcast by Radio America at 7:30 a.m.

The ICAP official defined smuggling as bringing merchandise through border blind spots, while fiscal fraud is introducing merchandise in full view of the authorities, who take a passive attitude, chiefly because of political influence.

In addition, those who deliberately lower the cost of the merchandise they import or the raw materials they bring in, thus reducing production costs, are defrauding the treasury.

This is done to evade the measures taken by the Central Bank of Honduras aimed at halting the flight of foreign exchange; said method of operation is known as undervaluation since it represents an intentional reduction in the cost of products.

The complicity of customs authorities is required for fiscal fraud.

According to Yescas, smuggling and fiscal fraud are carried on in Honduras for the reasons cited. Another reason is that the country lacks legal safeguards and capable technical personnel, although basically the problem stems from "political influence, mainly through congressmen."

"There is no honesty among some public officials," Yescas affirmed, adding that "smuggling and fiscal fraud is the work of some merchants."

## Impact

The impact on the country's economy is serious, according to the speaker, who feels that although it is difficult to calculate "the impact of smuggling and fiscal fraud, it is so devastating that it costs 100 to 200 lempiras annually, speaking conservatively."

He said that heretofore "we were troubled in Honduras with smuggling costing 5,000 to 10,000 lempiras. Now the smugglers are millionaires, and being millionaires they have economic influence and political power."

In the speaker's view, the foreign exchange control mechanisms of the Central Bank clash with the policies of the General Customs Office because in his opinion the latter institution "is not able to enforce the decisions of the BCH."

The problem is so serious that customs officers do not even require payment of the customs clearance certificates in cash, as is obligatory, according to Yescas.

Thus, when Yescas was a leading customs official some months ago, some 70 million lempiras were owed, which is wrong, because payment should be in cash, after which the merchandise is taken out of customs.

Yescas is of the opinion that customs "has become a store," where one can obtain merchandise on credit.

- Nothing is done despite the fact that smuggling affects both government revenues and industry and at the same time contributes to unemployment.

According to the opinions presented by Yescas, customs officials "follow political motives and must transmit and receive higher orders."

He estimates that the fault does not lie with the minister of finance, Arturo Corleto, who he considers is interested in administration and in addition he does not give the orders. "It comes from above," he observed; "the law is not obeyed. The General Customs Office is not respected, despite the fact that it regulates this activity."

He maintained that the problem "affects the entire Honduran public. The problem of smuggling and fraud is so serious that I would call the cheaters the subversives of the system, because by such practices they help prevent the government from obtaining all the revenues envisioned and therefore cannot carry out its programs."

"When the government cannot carry out its planned programs," he added, "what we call the democratic system is undermined; thus, those who attack this system are the smugglers and cheaters. If they are the ones attacking this system by preventing its laws from being carried out or allowing its institutions to function fully, then they become the real subversives."

Removed by Suazo Cordova?

Yescas explained that in 1980 the new government of Honduras requested the services of the Central American Public Administration Institute, which sent him to work here for 2 months.

However, he was withdrawn "because I present a danger for the fiscal defrauders, the smugglers, and the enemies of this country."

"I do not know where the order (for his separation) came from. I am sure it did not come from Arturo Corleto, who is a well-intentioned minister of finance, but I know that the order from way up above; I understand it came from the president," he asserted.

He described himself as a public servant by vocation.

He also said that several officials of the Customs Office who were very capable were fired for political reasons, specifically because they voted for the National Party.

Yescas warned by the necessity of ensuring that the free ports were run by benevolent institutions, as in other countries, and that they not be in the hands of the private sector, as at present.

He repeated several times that political interests were tied in with fiscal fraud and asserted that the administrators and officials of customs houses "become the executioners" of the poor, who bring in a few items while they do nothing against the millionaire smugglers and cheaters because everything is handled with politics in mind.

9015

CSO: 3248/123

## BRIEFS

HONDURAS, COSTA RICA TRADE AGREEMENT--Tegucigalpa--Honduras and Costa Rica last night concluded negotiations for incorporating only four new products in their trade agreement but left undecided the request by Costa Rica for preferential treatment. After 10 long hours of talks the delegations signed the declaration of intent which will be ratified by the ministries of economy of both countries. Angel Eduardo Ramos, vice-minister of economy, told LA PRENSA that foreign exchange control mechanisms would be expedited to benefit trade relations. Regarding the incorporation of new products, he indicated that while Costa Rica was given permission to export electric bulbs, Honduras won acceptance for beeswax, prolipopylene fabric, poultry feeders, beehive boxes, and ballpoint pens. [Text] [San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 20 Oct 83 p 11] 9015

CSO: 3248/123

## EFFECTS OF 'AGGRESSION' ON PEASANT COOPERATIVES DESCRIBED

Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 1, 4 Nov 83

[Article by Helmut Scheben and Gabriela Battaglia]

[1 Nov 83 p 4]

[Text] Sandino organized some cooperatives there in the area of the Coco River, in the heart of the Segovia Mountains. This was told to me by a peasant in Jalapa of about 80 years of age. Sandino settled some 300 families in La Vigia and Quilali in 1933. When he was assassinated in 1934, the National Guard repressed and totally destroyed these cooperatives. A few Sandinists survived this process, and later they formed the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) guerrilla force.

In 1979 the circle was closed. "Sandino has returned," the FSLN combatants said when they marched victorious into Managua in July of 1979. At the present time, the sons and grandsons of the Sandino cooperative members are again defending themselves against the same National Guard, which fled to Honduras when the dictator Somoza fell.

These peasants, who just a few months ago received guns in order to be able to rescue the basic grain production essential to feed the Nicaraguan people, and who are learning to read and write under great difficulty, are the vanguard of agrarian reform.

We visited some cooperatives near Rio Blanco in order to understand something about the life of the peasants under the daily threat of this war which some are still calling "secret," although for a long time now it has not been.

## Zone of War and Solitude

After an hour's march through the humid mountains, we began to climb a bare hill, at the top of which the silhouettes of bamboo huts and armed militiamen could be glimpsed. This was the Juan Treminio Self-Defense Cooperative. From a distance, it resembled a Celtic fortification. From the summit of the hill, the view covered the plantings of corn and the pastures for livestock extending to the edge of the mountains.

The men were cultivating the crops, and they had been advised of our coming. From the level of the trenches surrounding the houses, we could see them



climbing the hill, with their rifles on their sweaty shoulders. Twenty-four families live here. Curious men, women and children surrounded us. "This is the second time this month we have had visitors." There were laughter, greetings and a little embarrassment, "because we have prepared nothing--a glass of water, perhaps?"

Juan Treminio is one of the 39 cooperatives in the Rio Blanco area. We had reached the coffee-growing center of Matagalpa by a dirt road which disappears, a few kilometers farther to the east of Rio Blanco, in the unexplored mountains of the Department of Zelaya. The 5 hours during which we rattled in the jeep along the rough path sufficed to show us that we were entering a war zone. Melba and Orlando, the two technicians from the Agrarian Reform office in Matagalpa, never abandoned their M-16 rifles, ready to fire, even for a moment. At the bridges and settlements, the Sandinist People's Army told us whether or not the road was "quiet."

On the walls of the office of the Ministry of Agrarian Reform in Matagalpa, we saw photographs of technicians assassinated by the counterrevolutionary groups.

The wind wafted the odor of the smoke of cooking fires over the hill, where we stood under the palm-thatched roof of the meeting house. Standing crowded among all the gathered people, we were feeling alien and timid when they began to sing the national anthem, each with his rifle in hand.

The leadership council elected by the general assembly welcomed us: there is a president, a vice-president and officials in charge of production, finance, education, health and defense.

The men were in no hurry. They talked slowly. They had been planting beans since the early morning hours.

The Juan Treminio Cooperative has 105 members and collectively owns 600 manzanas of land, approximately equivalent to the average for the cooperatives in this zone. A year ago, the 24 families came to Rio Blanco after having been forced to abandon their communities when the first six peasants were assassinated by Somoza groups. In this as in other cases, the Sandinist government was not in a position to guarantee the safety of the isolated hamlets against the ever more frequent incursions by the enemy forces. Like the majority of the cooperatives, this was situated on land which had been expropriated in the second phase of the agrarian reform because it was "idle" or "underexploited." It is true that there is an excess of land in Nicaragua, but the vast tropical expanses in the eastern department of Zelaya are not however suited to many types of crops, and they lack access routes and other infrastructure elements.

It was necessary to clear brush from the hill to build a first house. To date, 25 manzanas of corn ("to see if it will grow") have been planted, along with some beans. The rest is pasture, all in all a typical proportion for this zone in which livestock breeding and small and average properties are the rule. There is not enough milk produced for the children. The plan

called for the purchase of 25 cows by August. "The date is now past and nothing has been done," the production official said.

There are other complaints. The road from the highway to the cooperative was "promised" them, but to date construction has not even begun. (This is the result of the war of aggression and the CIA attacks against the people's economy.)

"When someone falls ill we have no way to take him out. We would have to carry him over the mountains to get him to the Rio Blanco health station." The cooperative is still awaiting the delivery of a medicine chest in order to treat illnesses, above all the frequent cases of malaria.

Only a minority of all the cooperatives existing in Nicaragua have a tractor, a truck, fertilizers or irrigation pumps, like the model Leonel Valdivia Cooperative near Matagalpa has, for example. Therefore few succeed in cultivating tomatoes, carrots, onions and other vegetable crops requiring delicate care.

#### Credit-Handling Difficulties

"In the early months following the victory, the banks distributed money like madmen, directly to the cooperatives, or to what was then called a cooperative. This was a total disaster," Arnulfo Vallecillo, the local promoter of the UNAG told us. This combative union of small and average peasant owners and tenants is the Sandinist cooperative organization.

The fact that the UNAG and National Development Bank experts are providing technical aid and participating in the decisions of the cooperatives concerning the credit for each harvest cycle should contribute to avoiding erroneous investments and to putting order into the credit system, Arnulfo explained to us.

#### Reading and Writing Essential Skills

The production official told us that "we had to draft a production plan for the first time in 1982. Obviously, we did not complete it, because we did not know what planning is."

Rinaldo, the official in charge of education, told us that "no one can force anyone--the days in which people were forced to do things is now past--but we are not going to understand even what we are doing here if we do not learn to read and write." Everyone was quiet when Cristina, barely 20 years of age, gave us an assessment of the educational level.

"Of the 58 comrades enrolled last semester, only seven are still attending classes, and only four regularly. And they are ladies now on in years." Cristina, who is "the teacher," has only finished primary school. Her teaching materials are some notebooks, pencils, a blackboard, chalk and one lamp.

[4 Nov 83 p 4]

[Text] In the nearby Bernardino Diaz Cooperative, we saw how a cooperative is created out of nothing.

"Here we have to 'despalar' (clear the land--editor's note) with machetes alone. We do not even have oxen to haul off the tree trunks," we were told by the peasants at this cooperative which bears the name of a peasant leader who participated in the FLN guerrilla forces in the 1960s.

Of the eight houses which have just been built, seven still lack roofs. A zinc sheet roof would cost 9,000 cordobas (\$900). Plans call for 14 houses to accommodate 137 persons who are now "distributed" among houses in the neighborhood. Since the people arrived a half a year ago, 50 manzanas of corn and four of rice have been cultivated, although they have to buy basic grains for daily consumption.

We asked them how they were getting along in such solitude.

"Well, we are a little sad, because while you have music there, we have no guitar."

However, the main need is something else, they explained.

"We work a week to build a house with machetes, but even the roofs of chaguiton (a kind of palm thatch--editor's note) do not last long. With a power saw and zinc we could build a house in a day."

Orlando, the coordinator of the local agrarian reform area, tried to put things in their proper places.

"You should not forget that the problems are the same in all the cooperatives. If we could devote the effort we are putting into defense to production, you would perhaps have your power saw."

The fact that a poor country like Nicaragua has to pay with more quintals of coffee or sugar every year to buy a power saw is one of the reasons the peasants at the Bernardino Diaz Ochoa Cooperative do not have such a saw, or other imported products.

In placing the sugar boycott, the wheat blockade, taxes and the "covert" actions of the U.S. CIA in context, we realize that this war is nothing but the final phase in a global strategy. This a strategy which in the final analysis has as its goal the defense of unjust "terms of trade" against the rebellion of the poor countries.

#### One Form of War or Another

The peasants in the cooperatives use less complicated mental processes to reach similar conclusions. They now have to defend the land which was given them by the revolution, against the attacks of the same National Guard which

formerly provided safety guarantees for the estate owners of the Somoza clan. Moreover, they do not make fine distinctions. The likes of Reagan, Chamorro, a traitor like Pastora, Robelo, Calero or Cruz--all for them are birds of a feather.

The majority are very young. The panorama is the same in all the cooperatives: in their much-mended and colorfully patched uniforms, they come to sit down and chat with us, and while they talk or listen, their work-wearied hands lovingly clean the automatic rifles they were given some 5 months ago.

"Here we beg God to keep them from attacking us, because it is very dangerous --for them," an old man said.

"The main problem has been mobilization. We have had some difficult days. We no longer had a single hope," we were told everywhere. When, because of the new counterrevolutionary offensive, nine of the 24 registered members of the Juan Treminio Cooperative were mobilized last 16 August, production was affected.

### Spinal Column of the Revolution

The economic mechanism which operated during the Somoza years was based on a plan (which we are simplifying here) according to which an agroexporting upper bourgeoisie had available during the harvest season some 300,000 seasonal workers, a third of whom were tenants and small holders who devoted the rest of the year to raising basic grains to supply the domestic market.

The rapid (and greedy) expansion of cotton and sugar plantations on the Pacific coast led to the definitive proletarianization of a sector of these small peasants, bringing with it a serious shortage of basic grains and the need to import foodstuffs, beginning in the 1950s. This shortage has still not been made up, and it is precisely the basic grains cooperative program which is designed to fill this gap.

The agrarian policy of Somoza was dictated by the need to prevent the small peasant from becoming a part of the full-time proletariat, keeping him instead a producer of foodstuffs, and also a member of the reserve army of seasonal and cheap manpower.

To this end, the poor peasants were given land on the "agricultural frontier," only to see these same lands frequently plundered by these same National Guard officers, after they had been cleared. Other factors, such as a low credit level and sale prices, exploitation by middlemen, and economic exclusion, prevented their developing sufficiently to survive without selling their labor during the harvest season.

Currently, the agrarian legislation is oriented more toward consolidating what has been achieved than toward creating new cooperatives. Of those which exist, 500 are regarded as "priorities" for technical and financial aid. These model cooperatives are mainly the Sandinist Agricultural Cooperatives (CAS).

However, two-thirds of the cooperatives are still of the credit and service type, in which the plots continue to be individually owned, while the means of production and credit are utilized collectively.

In the opinion of the experts, the cooperatives are the very marrow of the revolution, and are of greater importance to agrarian reform than 50 to 250 state-controlled farm export enterprises. At the same time, the cooperatives constitute "the most difficult problem," as Minister Jaime Wheelock said, when it comes to "rescuing the peasant from his isolation and his separate economy."

The cooperatives had to convert overnight into "self-defense cooperatives."

It was a question of concentrating the peasant population in groups capable of defending their production, their plantings and their families, even before they knew how to read and write.

However, "one should not look only at today," as a peasant at the Bernardino Diaz Cooperative told us. "We are doing many things so that tomorrow others can benefit from our experience."

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CSO: 3248/189



## NEW AIR FORCE PILOTS RECEIVE WINGS, READY TO FIGHT

Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 31 Oct 83 p 9

[Text] New Sandinist Air Force (FAS) pilots, ready for battle against any invader, received their "wings" Saturday at a simple ceremony held at the FAS headquarters, the Political Office of the EPS [Sandinist People's Army] has announced.

Brigade Commander Hugo Torres Jimenez, head of the Political Office of the EPS, presided. With him at the speakers' table were Commander Raul Venerio, chief of the Sandinist Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defense (FASDAA); Capt Oscar Cortes and Capt Johny Torres, of the FASDAA general staff; representatives of the Air Force commander and the section heads of the FASDAA; and members of the families of the officials listed.

First Lt Ramon Vega Rodriguez read the order awarding the officers' "wings" issued by the commander of the Sandinist Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defense to the pilots who did outstanding work in their studies and combat activities.

Brigade Commander Hugo Torres, head of the Political Office of the EPS, presented the outstanding comrades with their air force wings.

The new pilots, on reciting their pledge, voiced their readiness to increase their combat and mobilization capacity and to carry out the missions assigned by the commanders to protect our air space.

## An Important Day

Brigade Commander Hugo Torres told the new pilots, during the ceremony at which their wings were presented, that "in this simple ceremony recognizing the merit of your efforts and dedication, the tenacity of the men of the Air Force, who have successfully completed their studies, and giving credit to those who, by carrying out the missions assigned by the Sandinist Air Force, have made themselves worthy of this distinction, this recognition, it is clear to everyone that the Air Force in our country, which has great limitations and limited resources, has in long campaigns throughout 4 years of revolution performed a leading role. This role was assigned to it by the minister of defense with a view to the achievement of combat activities in the struggle against the imperialist enemy, the Somoza enemy, and rescue and evacuation missions to assist the humble settlers in the frontier zones



besieged by the counterrevolutionary forces, who had to be resettled in order to save their lives and their goods."

Commander Torres spoke to the pilots about the importance of improving our capacity to combat the imperialist enemy, and he reminded those present that the U.S. imperialists do not frighten our people, because we already understand the morality of the gringos. He recalled how the Vietnamese, stubbornly resisting, succeeded in defeating and expelling the Yankee invader. "They died in Vietnam, they are dying in Grenada, and they are not invincible. They have been defeated and they will continue to be defeated," Commander Torres said.

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CSO: 3248/192

## WORK OF SPECIAL EMERGENCY COMMISSION DESCRIBED

## Commission's Work Plan

Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 3 Nov 83 pp 1, 10

[Excerpts] The Council of State approved the work plan for the Special Emergency Commission during its session held yesterday. Among other things, the plan calls for two ministers of state, among those involved in the emergency measures promulgated by the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction (JGRN), to present themselves each week during this month of November.

The plan also calls for hearings including parties and organizations of all kinds, such as the COSEP [Higher Council of Private Enterprise] and the Episcopal Conference, in order to report on the effects of the situation of aggression imposed by the U.S. imperialists with regard to our country.

This was the most important task accomplished by the people's legislators yesterday, since the matter of the proposed "Law Canceling Obligations at Excessive Interest," which is also regarded as of interest, was sent back to the Justice Commission for clearer and more exhaustive study of this economic and social phenomenon inherited from the regime which was ousted on 19 July 1979, and is still affecting thousands of persons throughout the country.

## Unanimous Approval

The work plan for the Special Emergency Commission, which is headed by Commander Leticia Herrera, thus became the issue of greatest interest during yesterday's session, to the point that it was approved without discussion by the full People's Council, but not before Commander Carlos Nunez had made it clear to the right-wing social Christians that the co-legislative body has the authority to appoint such representatives as it sees fit to the commissions, while this cannot be done on the partisan determination of any specific group.

## Informing the Foreign Public

Also, the general goal is "to project the activities carried out by the special commission abroad, supplying fluid information to all of the parliaments of the world and reporting in detail on the aggressions suffered by our country and the magnitude of the harm done to our economy."

## Regions To Contribute

Also, among its specific goals, the plan calls for "requesting of the Regional Coordination Secretariat of the JGRN that the ministers and regional representatives selected by the commission present themselves so that the commission can learn of the effects of the aggression in their regions." It is made clear that these appearances will be before the Special Emergency Commission, and that they may take place in the region itself, to which the commission might travel, or on the other hand the minister-representative might come to the Council of State.

The plan also calls for the authorities in the regions or the special zones "to hear the reports of the trade union, religious, labor or mass organizations in these places, so as to learn how the aggression has affected their membership, plans and activities," as well as the national boards of civic, economic, religious, humanitarian and other organizations, "in order to learn of their positions concerning the situation of aggression, and steps to be taken with regard to a possible invasion."

## Missions Abroad

Other plans call for sending missions abroad to meet with parliaments, political parties, leading individuals and intellectuals, and to publish a newsletter in Spanish and English to report on what has been done at international parliamentary forums such as the Interparliamentary Union, European Parliament, Latin American Parliament, World Organization of Parliamentarians, and United States Congress, and "parliaments with which we maintain relations, and bodies of interest within other countries."

Plans also call for the publication of the "Book of Aggressions Against Nicaragua," as the culmination of all the work of the Special Emergency Commission, "to be distributed worldwide as a record of a painful period in our history." It is also proposed that the commission prepare a film on the aggressions.

## Three Subcommissions

The broad work plan presented by Commander Herrera also includes the establishment of three subcommissions: a secretariat, headed by Carmen Moreno of the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front], with Manuel Eugarríos, of the UPN [Union of Nicaraguan Journalists] acting as secretary, and including Allan Zambrana of the CAUS and Julio Ramon Garcia of the Social Christian Party as members.

The Subcommission for International Affairs will be headed by Mauricio Díaz Davila of the Popular Party (PPSC), with Angela Rosa Acevedo of the AMNLAE as secretary, and Eligio Palacios of the CDS [Sandinist Defense Committees] as a member. Finally, the Subcommission for Organization will be headed by Domingo Sanchez of the Socialist Party, with Cristobal Garcia of the Agricultural Workers Association (ATC) as secretary, and Orlando Quinonez of the Independent Liberal Party (PLI) as a member.

Report on the 30th

On 30 November, the commission will submit a general report on its activities during the month to the full council, and the plan approved by the parliamentarians yesterday will be finally established.

#### International Solidarity Necessary

Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 8 November 83 p 4

[Text] The National Emergency Committee, headed by Reynaldo Antonio Tefel of the INSSBI, with Cesar Arostegui of the FIR as deputy coordinator, yesterday urged the more rapid mobilization of international solidarity with Nicaragua, consistent "with the intensity of the aggressions our country is suffering."

The above constituted the first press statement issued by the Special Emergency Commission of the Council of State. Tefel and Arostegui appeared before the commission to report in detail on the difficulties being experienced by the committee, and therefore our people. They stated that "one of the most important difficulties encountered currently has to do with the fact that the aid and the donations arranged on the international level to help those affected are not reaching the country at the same rate as the imperialist aggressions, which have intensified in recent weeks, are occurring."

#### Lies Do Harm

The disinformation in the hands of the international aid bodies, as a result of the imperialist campaign of lies or concealment, does us much damage, the statement continued, because these bodies are not fully informed of the results of the aggression we suffer in each case.

The document also said that the regions in the country which in the view of the committee are most seriously affected by the aggression situation "are Regions I, II (North of Chindandega), VI (Matagalpa and Jinotega), and Special Zones I and III (Puerto Cabezas and Rio San Juan)."

The statement also said that "the aid provided by the organized sector of private business, that is to say the COSEP, in order to cope with the natural disasters from which the country has suffered, the material damage and the harm done to the people, has been exactly zero cents."

Private enterprise is included in the National Emergency Committee. "However, it was only represented at the first session held by the committee, and has since been consistently unrepresented at the sessions," the statement added.

It noted that "on the other hand, other private and nongovernmental organizations have channeled their aid for those affected by the aggression to the committee. These include the INPRUH, 50,000 cordobas; the CONFER Association for the Development of Towns, 50,000 cordobas; the Anti-Imperialist Court (TANA), \$5,000; and just today (yesterday), the CEPAD, \$26,000, as well as the donation of a worker's labor day every 2 weeks while the emergency lasts."

## Evacuation in Corinto

Because of the brutal attack on the port of Corinto and its people and the threat of future aggression, the committee is planning the evacuation of its population. It is expected that by this coming January, 515 families will have been evacuated, the report said. It added that the Special Emergency Commission of the Council of State will maintain close communication with the National Emergency Committee.

## Appeal to Journalists

"This special commission issues a revolutionary and brotherly appeal to the domestic communications media for intensive propagation of the request for aid the National Emergency Committee is making to the Nicaraguan people, so that they will contribute their help in order to care for their brothers who are the direct victims of the aggressions," the statement said in conclusion.

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CSO: 3248/193

## COFFEE NEAR BORDER WITH HONDURAS NOT TO BE CUT

Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 24 Oct 83 p 9

[Article by Nadir Ismael: "1983 Coffee Harvest To Total 220,000 Quintals"]

[Text] Esteli--The production average expected for this harvest comes to 220,000 quintals of coffee, of which 176,000 will be for export, bringing into the country some \$22 million. The balance of the production total will be consumed domestically, Miguel Barrios, director of the MIDINRA in Las Segovias, Region I, has announced.

Some 95 percent of the production, in other words the greater part, will be harvested on the basis of the decision of the people calling for mobilization in voluntary brigades, utilizing traditional cutters and brigades of workers, students and professional people belonging to the various mass, labor and trade union organizations, in order to win another victory against the intentions of the enemy, the MIDINRA director stated.

There will be coordination with the armed forces during this present harvest, because at some production centers, the harvest will be gathered in speedy campaigns and team cutting will be done. Also, strict supervision will be imposed at the plantings and camps, because the goal set by the Segovian people is to harvest every last coffee bean to be found in the region, since this means health, education, housing, food and everything necessary for the normal subsistence of the Nicaraguan people, Barrios said.

## 11,300 Cutters

Our interlocutor told us that during this present harvest, 11,300 cutters will be needed in November, 27,000 in December and 22,000 in January, including traditional cutters and members of brigades of volunteers. Such brigades will be needed in the region, and an appeal will be issued throughout the country, and all the steps will be taken to ensure a supply of food, health, lodging, fuel and transportation. For the latter two categories, a distribution system especially designed to resolve the production transport problem will be used.

## No Cutting Near Frontier

With regard to the coffee in the region of the frontier with Honduras as such, where the attacks against our territory are occurring, Miguel Barrios



said that some 20,000 quintals of coffee, some for export and some for domestic consumption, located in the UPE AGRONICA (Namasli, in the municipality of Jalapa) cannot be cut. The same is true for some small and average producers in Jalapa as well as Quilali and Wiwili, who will not be able to get their production out for these same reasons.

There are many direct aggressions against the People's Ownership Sector by the Somozan counterrevolutionaries who, supported by the Honduran army and led and financed by the imperialists, have made incursions and destroyed camps, child care centers, farm operations, kitchens, offices and vehicles, causing material losses of more than 10 million cordobas. In addition, they have assassinated technicians, including the director of the Augusto Cesar Salinas enterprise, engineer Julio Moncada, peasants, workers at coffee-producing enterprises, members of cooperatives and small and average producers. Also, in their criminal campaign, the counterrevolutionaries have committed kidnappings with the same savagery with which they have wrought destruction, Miguel Barrios, director of the MIDINRA, said.

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CSO: 3248/192

## FSDC APPEAL FOR RELEASE OF JAILED SOCIAL CHRISTIANS

San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 21 Oct 83 p 8B

[Paid advertisement by the Christian Democratic Solidarity Front, bearing the signature of Rafael Ramos Gutierrez (Passport No C-034-217), and dated 18 October 1983]

[Text] German Minister Demands Release of Political Prisoners in Nicaragua

Bonn and Managua (AP, UPI and APP)--West German Minister for Youth, Family and Health Heiner Geissler demanded the release of the political prisoners in Nicaragua in the course of a meeting with our country's Minister of Interior Tomas Borge yesterday.

Geissler, who is also secretary general of the German Christian Democratic Party, gave Borge a list of Christian democratic and trade union leaders who are currently in prison in Nicaragua (Reprinted from LA NACION, 6 October 1983).

The Christian Democratic Solidarity Front (FSDC) addresses itself to the International Commission on Human Rights, the Nicaraguan Committee on Human Rights, to the international Christian democratic, socialist and democratic organizations and to the peoples of the world, to denounce the following facts:

On 25 September, Social Christian Party member Jose Maria Roa Duarte was murdered in cold blood on a Managua street, after being brutally beaten by the companions of one of the nine commanders.

This makes three of our social Christian brothers who have now been murdered by the FSLN and its henchmen. The others are Daniel Sierra, a peasant leader and spokesman for the word of God in the mountains of Chontales, and Dr Bayardo Cuadra, a lawyer, who was murdered by the state security agents of the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] nine.

We also denounce the fact that social Christian activists in the department of Chinandega, in the western part of Nicaragua, are also the focus of daily harassment. Some of them have been attacked with contact bombs by the government "rabble."

We also denounce the fact that the following social Christian prisoners of conscience have been illegally detained: Francisco Rodriguez, almost 500 days; Julio Ramon Montes, 515 days of arbitrary imprisonment; Feliciano Polanco, almost 500 days without trial or sentencing; Eusebio Garcia, more than 180 days; and Cristobal Martinez, 200 days now.

The Christian Democratic Solidarity Front registers its forceful protest against the repression, terrorism and murders committed by the Marxist-Leninist dictatorship of the FSLN against the patriots opposing civic resistance to their misgovernment, in shameful actions adopted because they are incapable of halting the demonstrations put on spontaneously and courageously by the Nicaraguan people against the Sandinist National Liberation Front.

We protest energetically against the repression and the assassination of social Christian comrades promoted by the FSLN, confirming and bearing out in deed the fact that in Nicaragua, pluralism cannot be exercised and that our suffering fatherland is being misgoverned today.

We fear for the lives of our social Christian brothers languishing in the dungeons of the FSLN. We fear for the lives of the many Nicaraguan brothers who are opposing civic resistance to the dictatorship of the nine Marxist-Leninist commanders.

We appeal to the organizations listed above to take an interest in the fate of these Nicaraguans, in the situation of the prisoners of conscience who are social Christians and members of other political and trade union organizations, and we urge investigation and penalties on the international level for those responsible for these political crimes.

Message to Geissler

Mr Heiner Geissler, Secretary General  
Christian Democratic Party  
Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany

Thanks for Christian democratic solidarity with Nicaraguan political prisoners.

Christian Democratic Solidarity Front

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CSO: 3248/192

## BRIEFS

INVESTMENT AGREEMENT WITH FRG--On Wednesday, 2 November, Panamanian Foreign Minister Oyden Ortega Duran and Walter Wellhausen, FRG ambassador to Panama, signed an agreement at the Foreign Ministry that guarantees investments made by citizens and trade associations of the two countries. The agreement will be effective for 10 years and can be extended annually thereafter if desired, protecting all investments made while it is in force for an additional 10 years. [Summary] [Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 8 Nov 83 pp 1, A-14]

ECUADOREAN ENVOY'S FAREWELL CALL--On ending his mission in Panama, Ecuadorean Ambassador Hernan Cueva Egiguren visited President De la Espriella to say farewell to him and to the Panamanian people. [Summary] [PA180332 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 16 Nov 83 p 8-A]

CSO: 3248/218

## BRIEFS

SPANISH MISSION ON VISIT--A technical mission from the Spanish Labor Ministry is paying a visit to Paraguay in order to observe and supervise the development of professional and advisory training programs undertaken with the cooperation of the above mentioned country through the National Service for Professional Training [SNPP]. This mission is made up of Concepcion Gutierrez del Castillo, coordinator for technical cooperation; Carlos Hernandez and Ibanez Cruz, adviser for labor matters Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay. [as printed] [Excerpt] [Asuncion HOY in Spanish 29 Oct 83 p 11 PY]

TRADE BALANCE DEFICIT--According to the figures shown by the most recent Statistics Bulletin of the Paraguayan Central Bank, by the end of August 1983 exports totaled \$209,852,000 while imports totaled \$303,272,900, leading to a trade balance deficit amounting to \$93,420,900. Exports dropped by 25.48 percent. While imports showed a drop of only 14.85 percent as compared to the figures recorded over the same period last year. [as printed] In real terms the decline in exports totaled \$71,790,000 while the decline in imports totaled \$52,918,400. [Excerpt] [Asuncion HOY in Spanish 15 Oct 83 p 10 PY]

CSO: 3348/97

## REPORTAGE ON REACTION TO INTERVENTION IN GRENADA

## Police, Sea Patrol Activities

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 26 Oct 83 p 3

[Text]

A NEW Fast Patrol Boat built in the United States for the Government of Trinidad and Tobago will be taken over by the Small Boats and Launches section during a simple ceremony at Chaguaramas this afternoon.

Acting Police Commissioner Lance Selman said the 45-foot long patrol boat — radar-equipped, and with a speed far in excess of 30 knots — is a welcome addition to the fleet of eleven sea craft.

He said delivery of the boat this evening was timely in view of the added commitments by the Police at this time, especially with the activities being planned in the present situation with Grenada.

Acting Commissioner Selman said yesterday that the Police had stepped up patrols, both land and coastal, around the Trinidad coastline and will be maintaining vigilance around the waters of the sister island Tobago.

## CONFINEMENT

He stated further that in view of the present situation involving strife-torn Grenada leave to policemen was restricted, although it should not be

considered as full-scale confinement, but closer control over leave facilities had to be exercised for the time being.

Mr. Selman explained that he would ensure that normal life in Trinidad and Tobago be continued, and that preventive measures in respect of crime and criminal activities were still maintained, despite the added commitment.

"We are paying particular attention to the Caricom Jetty, as, generally speaking, our vigilance at the Piarco International Airport and various seaports have been stepped up in order that aircraft or seacraft do not enter unauthorised points of entry."

## NO DISRUPTION

Mr. Selman said that the Police could work in collaboration with the various arms of the Protective Services and other government agencies to ensure that there was no disruption to affect any decisions taken by Government.

The acting Police Commissioner said that increased police presence, and police checks of small sea craft, whether pleasure boats or pirogues, would be made as it was not impossible for per-

sons to disembark the larger vessels on the side of territorial waters and use the smaller seacraft to gain entry.

For that matter the Police have been instructed to make sporadic checks on small sea craft, and/or suspicious pleasure boats or pirogues, he said.

Mr. Selman said that the 150 recruits at present in training at the St. James Training College, not yet called upon to be on the alert, were still available for mobilisation should the need arise.

But this should be considered as part of a training strategy; he said that they would be ready to assist in other duties, thus exposing themselves to practical policing, he explained.

Mr. Selman said that Police were at present involved in joint patrols with the Ministry of National Security Helicopter.

The acting Police Commissioner said that the Police were very much on the alert, and only awaiting any instruction forthcoming from the Ministry of National Security.

For that matter, he added, members of the Special Reserve Police have been alerted.



## Chambers' Meetings

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 26 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by John Babb]

[Text] THE HOUSE of Representatives will meet in emergency session at 2 p.m. today when it will hear from Prime Minister George Chambers, Trinidad and Tobago's official reaction to yesterday's invasion of Grenada by American troops.

Reaction, Government sources revealed, has been one of displeasure, in that Trinidad and Tobago was never officially notified of any planned invasion of Grenada.

Trinidad and Tobago's displeasure also stemmed from the fact that the invasion by external forces--the U.S.--in collaboration with troops from Jamaica, Barbados, and some of the member states of the OECS (Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States), was a complete turnaround to the majority decision taken last weekend by Caribbean heads meeting in Port-of-Spain.

It is understood that Prime Minister Chambers made it plain to U.S. Ambassador, Mr. Melvin Evans, that Trinidad and Tobago was not at all pleased at the action that had been taken, and that the Government was not informed of such action.

Mr. Chambers met the U.S. Ambassador following a three-hour emergency meeting of the Cabinet at Whitehall, from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m.

The Prime Minister also met British High Commissioner David Layne at 3.15 p.m.; the Venezuelan Ambassador, Dr. Anry Tournon-Lugo at 4 p.m.; the heads of the two major churches--Anglican Bishop Clive Abdulah and Roman Catholic Archbishop Anthony Pantin--at 4.30 p.m.

Later, Mr. Chambers also met Canadian High Commissioner, James Bisset, and India's High Commissioner Placide D'Souza.

All of the meetings took place at the request of Mr. Chambers who obviously wanted the various representatives to know of Trinidad and Tobago's reaction to the Grenada invasion.

He met the ambassadors separately, as each drove up to the Whitehall steps within minutes of the other leaving.

U.S. Ambassador Evans was the first of the ambassadors to arrive. He drove at 2.30 p.m.--minutes after his deputy--Mr. Bob Baumonte--arrived.

In his short chat with the Press, Mr. Evans did not reveal the mood of the Prime Minister, but it was obvious from the stern expression of Mr. Baumonte that all was not well.

Mr. Chambers, it was assumed, apparently had aired his displeasure over the issue.

Mr. Evans said he brought the Prime Minister up-to-date on information passed on by the U.S. Government.

The ambassador said he did not see any evidence of anybody being upset. "He did not seem to be angry," he said of the Prime Minister. "He gave me no evidence of rebuff," he added.

Mr. Evans said it was just an "informational" meeting. He also said there was no talk between himself and the Prime Minister relevant to the demonstration that had taken place earlier in the day outside the U.S. Embassy on Queen's Park West.

#### Nationals Safe

The ambassador did assure that all nationals were safe, and added: "As soon as possible the United States will quit as its citizens move out. We do not intent to make Grenada a colony," he emphasised.

The British High Commissioner said he was asked to explain the British Government's position in the matter. He said the British position was just what the Commonwealth Foreign Secretary had said in the British Parliament earlier in the afternoon.

"It was a very friendly meeting," Mr. Lane said, "and a considerable meeting of minds."

Later, National Security Minister, Mr. John Donaldson said a statement could be expected soon, but he did not know how soon. He also did not know whether the Prime Minister would choose to make a statement at today's meeting of Parliament.

Mr. Donaldson noted that on Monday the Government had made official contact with the Governor General of Grenada for permission to fly in a BWIA 'plane to take up Trinidad and Tobago nationals there. Approval for the flight to take place had been transmitted through the Governor General, Sir Paul Scoon, "but on the basis of what has happened this morning, all of that now has been washed under the bridge," he declared.

The National Security Minister told newsmen outside Whitehall that "as soon as we can get appropriate authorisation we will fly in to secure the safety of Trinidad and Tobago nationals."

The Venezuelan ambassador came and left in seven minutes. He declined to talk to the Press.

He was followed by the two Church heads who spent almost an hour with the Prime Minister.

Archbishop Pantin said he had been in touch with Bishop Sydney Charles and all was well. At one time, he said, there were soldiers on the balcony of the presbytery. The nuns in the convent in St. George's were all well, he assured.

The church heads were followed by the Canadian and Indian High Commissioners.

#### Alliance Position

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 26 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] A CALL for all Grenadians to lay down arms is among a number of propositions outlined by the Opposition National Alliance as a result of yesterday's developments in the neighbouring Spice Island.

After he was granted leave to move an adjournment of the Senate on definite matters of urgent public importance, Dr. Brinsley Samaroo, Leader of the Opposition in the Upper House, said the Opposition together with many thousands of people in this country, the Caribbean and the wider world, have been watching "in horror as the drama of unnecessary death and destruction tarnished the pleasant reputation of the Spice Island."

He said our personal grief was heightened by the fact that many of us are familiar with many of the victims of the carnage.

Dr. Samaroo said in view of the serious and urgent concern for the welfare of the people of Grenada, the Alliance proposed the call to Grenadians to lay down arms; demanded the immediate withdrawal of the American forces in that island and the establishment of a peace-keeping force made up of soldiers from the Caricom states including Trinidad and Tobago; that under the protection of this provisional force, Sir Paul Scoon, the last Governor be invited to form a broad-based interim government of Grenadian citizens; that no further economic hardships be visited upon the people of Grenada.

To this end the provisional government should be assisted by other Caribbean states in ensuring essential supplies to be distributed on a relief basis until a return to normalcy.

--the provisional government should be urgently requested to ensure that those accused of crimes against the people be brought to trial in legally constituted courts;

--a constitutional commission be set up to devise a framework as early as possible for a return to free and fair elections with Grenada citizens being allowed full part in the determination of their form of government;

--that there must be free and independent Press in Grenada;

--that a joint committee of both Houses of Parliament be immediately set up to constantly monitor the Grenada situation so that Government and Opposition could together decide on such an important issue.

In giving his view of the crisis, Independent Sen. Ashford Sinanan made an appeal for a return to a West Indian Federation model of government.

Opposition Senator Lincoln Myers said by this country not responding to the troubled island, it had failed decisively as a Caribbean people by not cleaning up its own backyard.

he said the country sat back hoping that the United States would come in "and do our jobs for us."

"Are we not opening up doors for intervention in our own country?" asked Senator Myers.

He said the crisis could be used as a catalyst for uniting the Caribbean.

Senator George Bovell, (Independent) said we owed the U.S. "a great debt and commend them on the prompt action they have taken to save suffering and lives."

He had no doubt the U.S. would leave Grenada as soon as a legal government is reestablished, he said.

#### Chambers' Address to House

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 27 Oct 83 pp 3, 5

[Statement by Trinidad and Tobago Prime Minister George Chambers to the House of Representatives yesterday on the Grenada crisis]

[Text]

It is incumbent on the Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago to direct its attention to the tragic circumstances which have visited Grenada over the last few days. I should like, therefore, to outline to this Honourable House, to the people of Trinidad and Tobago and to the wider regional and international community, the position of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago on these unprecedented and ominous developments.

On Friday 14th October, 1983 reports reached the Government of Trinidad and Tobago that the Prime Minister of Grenada, Maurice Bishop, had been placed under house arrest. Subsequently, further reports indicated that Deputy Prime Minister, Bernard Coard, had resigned from the Government in order, it was said, to dispel rumours that he was implicated in a plot to assassinate Mr. Bishop.

By Wednesday, October 19, news was received that Prime Minister Bishop, together with some members of his Cabinet, two prominent Union leaders and several civilians had been shot and killed by the military in Grenada. The ensuing events, as reported, led to the im-

position of military rule in Grenada, and the establishment of a Revolutionary Military Council. The Military Council had imposed, among other things, a 24-hour curfew over a four-day period.

The Cabinet of Trinidad and Tobago considered these developments the following day, that is to say Thursday October 20, 1983.

Immediately after the Cabinet meeting, I convened a Press Conference at which I expressed the feeling of a shock and dismay of the Cabinet at the news of the execution of the former Prime Minister of Grenada and several of his Ministers. I indicated that this Government viewed with horror the importation of such executions into the English-speaking Caribbean and that under no circumstances whatever could the Government and people of Trinidad and Tobago countenance the execution of public figures in the settlement of political disputes.

I also announced that in the circumstances, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago had taken the following decisions with immediate effect and until further notice:-

- Trinidad and Tobago would not



participate in any Caricom meetings whatsoever in which Grenada would be present.

- No Grenada citizens or nationals would be allowed entry into Trinidad and Tobago without a visa.

- No exports from Grenada into Trinidad and Tobago would be afforded Caricom treatment and that no vessels registered in Grenada would be allowed the facilities of the Caricom Jetty in Trinidad and Tobago.

Further, I made it quite clear that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago would take such steps as were necessary to ensure the safety of Trinidad and Tobago nationals in Grenada.

I emphasised that these decisions to the Government of Trinidad and Tobago were without prejudice to any decision which might be taken by Caricom Heads of Government at an emergency meeting which was scheduled to take place in Port-of-Spain over the weekend of Saturday 22 and Sunday 23, October 1983. The hosting of this meeting by the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago was proposed by the Prime Minister of St. Lucia and after appropriate consultations.

The emergency meeting took place in Port-of-Spain on Saturday 22 and Sunday 23, October, 1983 and was attended by

- The Deputy Prime Minister of Antigua and Barbuda
- The Prime Minister of The Bahamas
- The Foreign Minister of Barbados
- The Prime Minister of Belize
- The Prime Minister of Dominica
- The President of Guyana
- The Prime Minister of Jamaica
- The Chief Minister of Montserrat
- The Prime Minister of St. Christopher and Nevis
- The Prime Minister of St. Lucia
- The Prime Minister of St. Vincent and the Grenadines
- The Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago

Proposals were advanced to the meeting that were consistent with the established foreign policy of Trinidad and Tobago based on the principles of the United Nations Charter to which we fully subscribe.

The fundamental elements of this policy are non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the avoidance of the use of force in the conduct of international relations and in the settlement of disputes. These proposals were:

- (i) No involvement of any external elements in the resolution of the Grenada situation;

- (ii) The resolution of the Grenada situation should be wholly regional, that is to say, Caricom in nature;

- (iii) The regional solution pursued should not violate international law and the U.N. Charter;

- (iv) Any proposed solution should have as its primary purpose the restoration of normalcy in Grenada.

## SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

Subject to a minor reservation by one Prime Minister, which as Chairman I was confident would have been resolved, there was agreement in principle on the proposals advanced.

In respect of specific proposals relating to the restoration of normalcy in Grenada, the meeting considered whether the Governor-General, as the legal representative of the Queen, should be used as a point of contact in Grenada. We decided that through contact with the Governor-General we would seek to accomplish the following:

- (a) the immediate establishment of a broad-based civilian Government of national reconciliation whose composition was acceptable to the Governor-General. The primary function of that Government would be the putting into place of arrangements for the holding of elections at the earliest possible date;

- (b) acceptance of a fact-finding mission comprising eminent nationals of Caricom States;

- (c) the putting into place of arrangements to ensure the safety of nationals of other countries in Grenada and/or their evacuation where desired;

- (d) the acceptance of the deployment in Grenada of a Peace-keeping Force comprising contingents contributed by Caricom countries.

These proposals and objectives, in fact, represented the position of Trinidad and Tobago.

As Chairman, I intimated to the meeting that I had reason to believe that the persons exercising authority in Grenada would be willing to treat on the basis of these proposals and objectives. My judgement derived from consultations I had held with the President of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago who is in London and who, at my request, had been in contact with the Governor-General of Grenada. In addition I spoke with the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth.

By 3.06 a.m. on Sunday when the adjournment was taken it was apparent that consensus had emerged in support of the proposals and objectives, so much so that Heads of delegations including some of the OECS had suggested names of one

ment persons who would comprise the fact-finding mission to Grenada. It has also been agreed that I, as Chairman of the meeting, would be entrusted with pursuing the initiatives.

At that point it was agreed that the number, the composition and the terms of reference of the fact-finding team would be decided at the resumption of the meeting later that morning.

The single consideration standing in the way of complete agreement was what action members would take in the event that the regime in Grenada refused to treat on the basis of the proposals.

On this one point there was a division of views. Some members held that there should be instant resort to force, including extra Caricom assistance in connection therewith, if required. Others, among them Trinidad and Tobago, maintained the position that force, be it regional or extra regional, should not be the first resort in respect of a sister Caricom State.

As Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, I indicated that I would wish in the circumstances to take the matter to Parliament before agreeing to the use of Trinidad and Tobago forces in hostilities outside of Trinidad and Tobago.

When the meeting reconvened later that morning, one of my colleagues from the OECS immediately informed us that a leading personality of a Caricom country had agreed to serve on the fact-finding mission. Whatever transpired between the adjournment and the resumption, which incidentally was one hour later than the appointed time, is not within my knowledge.

#### No Consensus

But certain Heads for the first time stated that there was no consensus on the proposals and that in any event they were of the opinion that no further discussions should continue along those lines. Instead, they wished to direct their attention to two papers which had earlier been circulated, one by the Prime Minister of Jamaica and the other by the OECS members present.

The Jamaican paper, which was entitled, "The Protocol of Port-of-Spain," proposed far-reaching amendments to the decision-making mechanisms contained in the Treaty of Chaguaramas--the Caricom Agreement. The OECS paper proposed sanctions to be imposed on Grenada.

A majority of members took the political decision to suspend Grenada from Caricom and to support the sanctions on Grenada. The sanctions proposed were as follows:

1. No official contact with the existing regime;
2. The regime would not be permitted to participate in the deliberations and business of the Organisation;



3. Representatives of the regime would not be permitted to participate in or chair caucuses or groupings pertaining to meetings of international agencies and would not be permitted to speak on behalf of the OECS in international agencies;
4. The regime would not be allowed to benefit from the trade, economic and functional cooperation arrangements of the Organisation;
5. No new issues of currency will be made to the regime under the East Caribbean Central Bank (ECCB) arrangements;
6. The OECS Governments will cease all sea and air communication links with Grenada.

#### Not in Favour

At the conclusion of the meeting I proceeded to hold a Press Conference on the meeting in my capacity as Chairman. Immediately thereafter I spoke to the Press in my capacity as Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago.

After the Press Conference I had discussions with the President of Guyana and the Prime Minister of Belize who together with the Prime Minister of Bahamas and myself were not in favour of military intervention as a first resort.

On Monday I spoke again to the President of Guyana and to the Prime Minister of Bahamas. I also attempted to reach the Prime Minister of Belize but he was airborne at the time. We continue to be in touch on the matter.

I would like to inform this Honourable House that in relation to my earlier statement that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago would take such steps as are necessary to ensure the safety of Trinidad and Tobago nationals, the Ministry of External Affairs had established a mechanism for receiving information on Trinidad and Tobago nationals who wished to leave Grenada.

As of the evening of Tuesday 25th October, it had been ascertained that there were 136 Trinidad and Tobago nationals in Grenada who wished to be repatriated.

We had also established contact with the office of the Governor-General of Grenada with a view to working out arrangements for repatriation. It was decided that a BWIA aircraft would be despatched to Grenada to transport our nationals.

New developments, however, in Grenada have precluded the implementation of these arrangements

It is now public knowledge that military forces have landed in Grenada and are currently in hostilities there.

I would like to state that the first official notification I, as Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago and current Chairman of Caricom received of the

landing of forces in Grenada came from the United States Embassy in Port-of-Spain through the Minister of External Affairs several hours after the actual landing.

I wish to state further that to date I have received no notification from any Caricom member country of any intention to request assistance from the Government of the United States to intervene militarily in Grenada nor have I been informed by any Caricom member country that such a request had in fact been made. At an emergency meeting of Cabinet yesterday the entire situation as was then known was reviewed.

I later called in the United States Ambassador, the British High Commissioner, the Venezuelan Ambassador, the High Commissioner of Canada and the Acting High Commissioner of India, to discuss the developments in Grenada and to appraise them of the position of the Trinidad and Tobago Government in the continuing crisis.

#### Regrettable

I also invited and met with the Archbishop of Port of Spain and the Bishop of Trinidad and Tobago at Whitehall for discussions on the crisis. Earlier today, I met the Colombian Ambassador at his request, and I have arranged a meeting with the Nigerian High Commissioner. Other diplomatic representatives will be called in as necessary.

The Government of Trinidad and Tobago maintains its original position on this matter and continues to hold firmly to the view that

1. It is regrettable that a solution involving the non-use of force, proposed during the Emergency Meeting of the Heads of Government was not allowed to be pursued.
2. It is regrettable that a solution of a purely Caricom nature was not agreed upon and was not allowed to be pursued.
3. It is regrettable that measures involving the use of force as a first resort have been embarked upon.
4. It is regrettable that military intervention of this nature has been imported into the Commonwealth Caribbean.

In the light of the present situation and in pursuance of our original initiatives, we shall seek

1. The earliest possible withdrawal of combat forces in Grenada.
11. Through appropriate channels, the earliest establishment there of a Caricom peace-keeping presence in which we are prepared to participate. In this regard we wish to state that in our view there is a clear distinction between the role of an occupation force and that of a peace-keeping force.

iii. The establishment of a broad-based civilian government. The primary function of the civilian government would be the earliest putting into place of arrangements for the holding of free and fair elections.

iv. The establishment of a fact-finding mission comprising eminent nationals of Caricom States.

#### Tantamount to War

At present the Security Council of the United Nations, the Permanent Council of the OAS and the United Kingdom Parliament are all meeting on this matter.

The Government of Trinidad and Tobago is deeply conscious of the implications of all these developments for Trinidad and Tobago and for the Caribbean as a whole. Whatever the circumstances and however justifiable it may appear in the eyes of others, the commitment of our armed forces in the situation that I have described at which in the view of many, is tantamount to war, cannot be made on the basis of emotion or editorial hyperbole.

Such a commitment requires, in my view, reference to the Parliament of the sovereign people of Trinidad and Tobago. Moreover, in the instant case it involves a sister Caricom country which has a large and significant community of its nationals in Trinidad and Tobago.

Last year the Heads of Government of Caricom, at their meeting in Ocho Rios, took specific decisions against the use of force in the resolution of disputes. More recently, in July of this year at the Fourth Conference of Heads of Government of Caricom countries in Port of Spain, they reiterated this commitment to the non-use of force.

The Government of Trinidad and Tobago, as a party to these decisions could not now depart from these agreed principles particularly without resort in the first instance to efforts at a peaceful resolution of the problem.

The Government of Trinidad and Tobago deeply sympathises with the people of Grenada on what is obviously a troubled time not only for them but also for the Caribbean region and stands ready to assist in a resolution of the crisis in accordance with its stated principles.

Finally, let me make it clear that it is our intention to treat with this issue on a non-partisan basis and we invite our friends opposite to treat the matter likewise so that the country, the region and the international community will be in no doubt whatsoever as to the attitude of this Honourable House on matters of national, regional and international moment.

## ONR on 'Double Cross'

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 27 Oct 83 p 1

[Text]

THE ORGANISATION for National Reconstruction (ONR) last night described Prime Minister George Chambers's revelation that Trinidad and Tobago was not given prior notification of the Grenada invasion as "a definite slap in the face of the people" of the country.

ONR political leader Karl Hudson-Phillips, who was in Parliament for the Prime Minister's statement, said that he was "surprised" that Prime Minister Chambers, as Chairman of the Caribbean Heads of Government meeting, was given no prior notification of the armed intervention in Grenada.

He added:

"If this was true, then it was a definite slap in the face for the people of Trinidad and Tobago. One is only left to speculate why the Caribbean Heads of Government thought it necessary not to advise the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago."

Mr Hudson-Phillips felt that "it can only be that Trinidad and

Tobago had taken a position early or that the other Prime Minister did not trust telling our Prime Minister of their intentions."

According to him, "this raises the question of the role of the Trinidad and Tobago High Commissioner to the Eastern Caribbean States (Mr Basil Pitt).

Mr Hudson-Phillips stated that he understood that Mr Pitt was in Barbados on Friday when the decision was taken to invade Grenada and this meant in effect that Mr Pitt was also slighted and not advised of the situation.

Mr Hudson-Phillips concluded:

"It is unbelievable that the Caribbean states could have double-crossed Trinidad and Tobago in this fashion. It is to be noted that everybody, including the military junta in Grenada, except Trinidad and Tobago were aware of this decision on Sunday because the local Press on Monday carried the story of the impending invasion in Grenada."

## Opposition Objections

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 28 Oct 83 pp 5, 16, 18

[Text] Acting Opposition Leader, Mr. Nizam Mohammed, told the House of Representatives on Wednesday that there must be no further military escalation of the crisis facing the Caricom region.

During debate on the Grenada situation at a special sitting of Parliament, the representative for Tabaguite, said whatever efforts Trinidad and Tobago had been making towards regional integration, a new economic order and regional trade, had been thrown out the window.

Mr Mohammed, who sparked off the debate for the Opposition, said:

Last Friday in this House, with your leave, we on this side outlined our position with respect to the recent sordid developments in Grenada. We viewed with horror the distressing circumstances in which the former Prime Minister, Maurice Bishop, three of his Cabinet colleague and a number of Grenadian citizens and trade union leaders were killed.

The breakdown of constitutional political authority in Grenada, further suspension of civil liberties and the direct imposition of military, rule posed, in our view, an imminent threat to the well-being of innocent Grenadian citizens, with repercussions for the external security of Caricom states.



In the circumstances, we recognised the awesome responsibility that rested with the Caricom Governments and peoples to respond to the Grenadians and regional crisis collectively and with tact, firmness and, most importantly, understanding.

We indicated to the Parliament, Sir, that we viewed the matter as a bi-partisan one and supported the call of our Prime Minister for an emergency meeting of the Caricom Heads of Government.

In addition, we urged any Caricom intervention must, among other things, forestall the threat of super-power adventurism and introduce some basis for peaceful mediation.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, we must put on record our regret that Our Prime Minister has not sought to keep us informed on the line of action agreed to by the Caricom Governments, or indeed, to appraise us on this side of the House of further developments on the most serious crisis to face the Caribbean people since the independence movement.

We feel on this side that this has been a fundamental error, an error at the local level, this non-consultation by Government with the Opposition on a matter like this one. We feel that there ought to have been a meeting, an emergency sitting of this honourable chamber on Monday, so that this country, the representatives of the people in this House would have been appraised of what had actually transpired over the weekend at the Caricom Heads of Government meetings.

Again, we feel compelled to urge Government to establish that Foreign Relations Committee of Parliament as is provided for in Standing Order No. 79. It becomes more urgent as the clock ticks away.

You see, we are complaining that we have not been consulted. Time and time again we have been drawing to the Government's attention the malfunctioning of the present system, and I make that comment so that we would understand, and we must understand that it was the malfunctioning of the system in Grenada, prior even to Maurice Bishop, that has brought upon the crisis in the Caribbean today.

And we feel that this problem that we face on this side of the House, regarding consultation is a serious one. And we again appeal to Government to take us seriously on this issue. I can understand the feeling of our Prime Minister. To date he says he has received no communication by any Caricom member regarding what is taking place in Grenada, and his first notification was from the United States Embassy in Trinidad via one of his Ministers.

Surely, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Trinidad and Tobago has been playing its part, even humbly, so as to encourage regionalism and a spirit of co-operation and brotherhood in the Caribbean.

Caribbean States, our Caricom partners, must know that Caricom does not mean only to come to the Trinidad Hilton like ordinary traders to barter when the occasion and the need arose.

## LEADING ROLE

They have to understand this, Sir, because I do not believe that there is any citizen of Trinidad and Tobago who is not deeply concerned about what is taking place in the Caribbean, extremely concerned, and this is why, initially, we suggested tact, firmness and understanding.

And we felt that we of Trinidad and Tobago had a significant and a leading role to play. We on this side of the House share that kind of disappointment that has been expressed by the Prime Minister.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, my comments about lack of consultation must not be taken to mean, or to detract from our commitment in the first instance, commitment to the extent that we feel that this matter is non-partisan, as a matter of fact.

We said that we viewed the matter as a bi-partisan, one, and we continue to feel that way on this side of the House. That is why I would join with the Prime Minister, at this stage, to say that we agree with him in expressing a number of regrets, for example, the non-use of force that was suggested in the first instance.

We on this side have been advocating that from the very inset. We also regret that even if there was some kind of intervention, that such intervention has not been of a purely Caricom nature.

The problem in Grenada is a Caribbean problem, and if we are to make any effort, as a people regarding self-determination and independence, we ought to be able to display some measure of maturity and sit down like civilised people to solve our problems.

And even if we do not have the expertise, Sir, regarding any given problem, we ought to

consider, collectively again, seeking help if that becomes necessary.

The third regret that the Prime Minister has indicated in his contribution on this motion is the use of force. Mr. Deputy-Speaker, we are humble and poor people in the Caribbean, we are not prone to war, we are a peaceful people, by and large, and we say, as well that it is extremely regrettable that our people's blood must be shed in the manner that we have been experiencing over the past week.

We abhor violence as a means of settling political dispute. And the fourth regret that our Prime Minister has indicated to us is the imported military activity in the Caribbean.

## SOLUTIONS FIRST

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, suffice it to say, as I have indicated before, if there is a Caribbean problem, we must first try to find solutions at the Caribbean level, rather than having imported activities, military or otherwise.

We regret, further, the inability of Caribbean Governments to agree on a collective approach to the problem which has clearly resulted in the creation of a dangerous precedent for the solution of political crises in the region.

The Caribbean leaders and the existing Caricom institutions could not, it appears, muster the moral and other resources necessary to protect the political integrity of the Caribbean region.

If therefore becomes incumbent upon me to say that the action by the OECS, Jamaica and Barbados is a condemnation of the traditional role that Trinidad and Tobago has played in Caribbean affairs. We regret this sincerely, Sir.

It is one thing for any super power to distrust Trinidad and Tobago, but to discount us totally is a different question.

Is it that these Caribbean countries feel that our political leadership is characterised by vacillation, by indecisiveness? If that is so, let them tell us so; we would like to know.

You see, Sir, we feel that the effect of what has happened in Grenada in that, whatever regional order there may have been in the Caribbean, whatever efforts Trinidad and Tobago has been making towards regional integration, towards a new economic order, towards regional trade, we feel that all of that has been thrown out of the window.

Thanks to those murderous thugs! The most senseless act for a long time to come would be the killings within recent times in Grenada, the most senseless act!

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, having expressed our regrets on this side of the House, we feel that we are under a duty to appeal to those concerned, and in that regard we call for the expeditious establishment of a Commonwealth peace-keeping force, under the umbrella of the Commonwealth Secretariat, with view to achieving the order transition of the island to democratic and constitutional role.

If such a suggestion is accepted, we expect that Caribbean Commonwealth countries, including Trinidad and Tobago will play a positive and significant role, and that, Sir, ties in with the comment made by the Hon. Prime Minister, to the effect that it is a pity that the solution could not have been of a purely Caricom nature.

It is no secret that in the Commonwealth of nations, of which we are

a member, there are certain traditions and values, and we find great ease and facility working within the Commonwealth of Nations.

We feel that there must be no further military escalation of the crisis now facing the Caricom region. We must seriously ask whether there has been, in fact, a Caribbean intervention in the present situation, or whether things are otherwise. Or is there a disguise?

Is it that there are those who care so much for the wellbeing of our Grenadian people? Or is it that the primary concern is military solutions to political problems, rather than political and economic solutions to crisis wherever they may be. A very serious question for us to ask ourselves.

Regarding our proposal for the establishment of a Commonwealth peace-keeping force, we are saying that we anticipate such a move will create the conditions for a political solution to the crisis, in keeping with the wishes of the vast majority of the Grenadian people.

Such a political solution must ensure, among other things, (1) that the mechanism be worked out for the establishment of an interim government; (2) the effective return of the rule of law; (3) the full participation of the people of Grenada in determining the form of government that they wish; (4) relief from the economic hardship facing the Grenadian people.

## SHARP FOCUS

We say that the Grenadian people must be protected; they must not be exploited.

This crisis that has descended upon us brought into sharp focus the limitations of sovereignty in the context of Caricom nation States and the



ineffectiveness of our existing institutions in the Caricom region to protect and preserve the political integrity of the region and the sovereignty of the individual nation states.

We call for the opening of discussion among the Governments and people of the region, aimed at solutions to this problem and finding mechanisms for the protection of the political integrity of the region and the exclusion of all forms of foreign military presence in the Caricom area, based on the establishment of institutions for the collective security of the area.

I would like to give Government the assurance that we on this side stand prepared in this serious crisis that affects us as a nation, as a Caricom state, that affects the region and without exaggeration, I think, it affects the entire world.

We understand the seriousness of the situation. We appreciate our limitations in the Caribbean regarding problems like the one we are experiencing. We think that the Prime Minister has started in the right

direction by consulting our Archbishop and our Bishop.

The time has come to rally all our people; political differences must be put aside. Our people must understand the seriousness of the situation; our people must understand that there is a time for political partisanship and a time for national unity.

And as I say, our Prime Minister has started in right direction by consulting our Bishop and our Archbishop. I do not believe that he would regard the Opposition as being irrelevant in the present circumstances.

Therefore, I take this opportunity in speaking on this motion to make our position as of today very clear to this hon. chamber and, indeed, the nation as a whole; for that matter, the entire Caribbean.

I would like to appeal to all public spirited citizens, organisations — social and otherwise — to assist in letting our people know what the real issues are, the serious implications that can ensue, so that they would be able to understand in the future, the complexity, perhaps, of decisions and deliberations.

### Call for Troop Withdrawal

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 28 Oct 83 p 7

[Text]

**SAN FERNANDO:** MORE THAN 3,000 residents of Point Fortin and surrounding districts, the majority of them being Grenadians, have supported the call by the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union (OWTU) for the immediate withdrawal of United States and other foreign troops from Grenada, and agreed that the Caricom countries should seek peaceful and diplomatic means to resolve the difficulties.

The call was made by OWTU vice president, Mr Errol McLeod at a public meeting

organised by the union on Wednesday night to bring workers in the area, especially relatives of Grenadians, up to date on the events in that island.

Mr McLeod said there should be restoration of normalcy in Grenada in the shortest possible time, and that the Grenadians must be permitted to determine what institutions they want without any outside interference.

"That no outside forces must be allowed to impose elections upon them because they themselves had rejected the 1973 constitution in

Grenada and had deposed Sir Eric Gairy and had introduced a system which had in fact been working in their best interests."

Grenadians, he added, must be allowed to continue to develop their own systems and institutions.

The OWTU vice president, who condemned the US invasion told the large crowd that the Americans did not invade Grenada "because they liked Grenadians, but rather in order that they could continue their domination in the Caribbean."

Labour Congress Stand

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 28 Oct 83 p 13

[Text]

**THE SECRETARY-GENERAL** of the Trinidad and Tobago Labour Congress, Mr. Carl Tull, yesterday announced that the Congress fully supported and endorsed the stand taken by Prime Minister George Chambers, in his announcement made on Wednesday in Parliament.

Mr. Tull said the Congress expressed its shock and displeasure at the disclosure that Prime Minister Chambers was not notified of any planned invasion by armed forces from the Caribbean and the United States.

The Congress, he added, considered this to be an insult not only to the Prime Minister, but also to the people of Trinidad and To-

bago. "It was a position that we will not countenance," he declared.

Mr. Tull said the Congress proposed to issue a further statement on the matter, expressing its fullest support for the Government, and that it intended to communicate with the Prime Minister.

According to Mr. Tull, the Congress plans to raise the issue at the forthcoming eighth triennial congress of the Caribbean Congress of Labour (CCL) due to take place next weekend in Barbados.

Trinidad-Tobago as 'Black Sheep'

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 29 Oct 83 p 8

[Article by John Babb and Gail Alexander]

[Text] BRIDGETOWN, Fri., TRINIDAD and Tobago stands out as the black sheep in the invasion of Grenada by United States military troops.

Named the odd man out, Trinidad and Tobago media personnel continue to experience severe difficulty in seeking to get selection from the US military authorities to fly into Grenada.

Although not being told so in so many words, Trinidad and Tobago media personnel are being given the brush-off as authorities indicate that we do not have any participation of troops in their operation.

Priority, it is indicated, is being given to certain American journalists.

Like the Trinidadians, media personnel from French, Latin America and Canada are also uptight over the refusal to grant their request for selection on media flights.

Trinidad and Tobago Television has had a crew here standing by since Tuesday and on each occasion they were given the brush-off.

The same went for "Guardian" personnel.

The US military is in total command of operations here at the old airport building in Bridgetown.

Grenadian journalist Alister Hughes, who had been detained by the revolutionary forces, arrived in Barbados tonight. He said former Attorney General Lloyd Noel and Winston Whyte, both former detainees, have been released. Hughes will hold a Press conference this morning in Bridgetown.

A small group of vacationers from Europe comprising Germans, British and Dutch were brought out today. They arrived at 2.45 p.m. by military aircraft.

Interviewed by the media, they strongly condemned US military invasion on the island on Tuesday.

They also charged that the US was doing more harm than good.

One woman, Katharina Robsson, 24, of London, said the coup was a disaster but "the invasion was real terror."

She said it was her first vacation in Grenada and said she was prepared to return there for another vacation sometime in the future.

#### Hotels Destroyed

She reported the Grand Anse Hotel was "blazing fire" and that the Holiday Inn Hotel had been flattened.

The woman said: "I looked up and saw the bomb falling out of the plane." According to her, one US soldier told her that everything had gotten out of hand... they expected trouble but it was much more than they expected.

"We came here to fight, but things are getting out of hand."

The visitors said that they attempted to leave Grenada earlier but they were turned back by the military.

Speaking about the civilian Grenadians, she said the people were totally shell shocked." They are walking the streets like zombies, not knowing what the future held in store for them."

One German visitor who preferred to remain anonymous said she saw bombs falling from the US 'planes.

Another visitor Edward Bauch, of West Germany, also claimed that the Americans were bombing the area after evacuating civilian Grenadians.

He also said that the United States was fighting against a force which could not stand up to them because of their superior weaponry.

It is reported that the Germans are out, the English are out, the Canadians are also out of Grenada leaving the Trinidadians and Tobagonians at the airport still stranded.

According to the reports generally, fighting has been more fierce than reported. The US Army is transporting water from Barbados as well as food and rations to feed their personnel, displaced persons and visitors.

The Army has sealed off all air and sea ports. Journalists who were trying to get in by boat from St. Vincent have abandoned the idea and now gone on to Barbados seeking transportation to Grenada.

Meanwhile, Mr. Basil Pitt, Trinidad and Tobago's High Commission to Barbados, flew out of Port-of-Spain last night, leaving instructions for BWIA to wait in Barbados to take on Trinidad and Tobago nationals wishing to return home. The Americans, it was stated, wanted to take them to Colorado in the United States, but this was resisted.

#### Criticism of Chambers

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 29 Oct 83 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

WE THINK the entire Caricom family must extend the most sincere thanks to the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States and, in particular, to the Prime Minister of St. Lucia, who insisted from the start that only strong intervention in Grenada could have any effect.

We should all further extend thanks to the Prime Minister of Barbados who decisively and with great and correct sense of apprehension led the co-ordinating of the intervention. All those who heard his speech the other day most probably agree with every syllable of his view.

As chilling events have shown beyond any kind of doubt Grenada had become the arsenal of Communist hemispheric ambitions.

With Trinidad and Tobago only 90 miles away from Grenada and a gang of murderous men in power there, what guarantee was there that we could have escaped their criminal intentions, if their insane strategy impelled them?

#### NEXT DOOR

In these circumstances, we think the decisive manner in which the President of the United States acted in directing American troops to go to Grenada and intervene is also not only commendable but it has turned out to be an action that has saved innumerable Caricom lives and has given infinite hope that never again will the threat of Communist domination grab us by the throat.

We are satisfied that as a section of the region's Press that we have acted in defending freedom by continuously alerting the world to what was happening next door and what it could mean.

We were among those who called — emphatically — for intervention when the historic crisis arrived and our opinion has been borne out fully by the subsequent events.

That is why we are shocked by the utter ineptness

displayed by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago in this matter.

### OWN PARTY

Mr. Chambers, our Prime Minister, has demonstrated several unsatisfactory traits of leadership in decision, ignorance of military affairs, poor knowledge of the psychology of Communists and their stooges, and worse, appalling ignorance of what public opinion in this country really thinks of armed intervention in Grenada by the United States.

His first international crisis has proved him to be an embarrassment to the nation and, if it were not for the decency of the Opposition, which he sometimes disdains publicly, he would be cutting an even sorrier figure than he must now be cutting even in the eyes of his own party.

What has happened is that the sterile nature of the principle of non-intervention seduced him into a most important gesture: he was neither pacifist nor interventionist, he was neither diplomat nor sage;

He was most certainly out of touch with public opinion in Trinidad and Tobago and the mood, the language and the objectives of his conference colleagues, to say nothing

of his being totally unable to read signals that he must have himself seen inside or outside the precincts of the meeting room, and in the region of which we form a critical mass.

If all these things did not tell him what was happening, all we can say is that we hope the Lord puts a hand on our side, if ever we face an equivalent internal crisis of the kind with him in charge.

We must again refer to Mr. Chambers's pet theory that the Caricom nations should have tried to gain permission to send in a peace-keeping force and establish also in Grenada a fact-finding commission.

With a mammoth arsenal behind him, with Cubans who have lived up to the challenge of Fidel Castro to die for the revolution, out of pique or coercion or sheer bravado, Gen. Hudson Austin would have refused any such request and gone about his business enslaving his own people and thumbing his nose at us.

If we were then foolish enough to try to intervene without help apart from our losing a couple of billions of dollars in trying to bring Gen. Austin to heel, we should have lost all our defence force and any volunteers rash enough or patriotic enough to join

them.

### A BURDEN

This much has been established by actual events since Tuesday and Mr. Chambers and his Cabinet had better not forget those events nor ignore them.

What the events of this week have shown us is that we are too far behind in military technology, diplomatic skills and political psychology to do much at this stage and be more than a burden to others in the global conflict unfolding.

That much the man in the street has been saying this past week and a common expression, often repeated with awe, is: "Boy, is a good thing we did not send our boys in there."

Gratitude for American intervention pervades the streets and there is a discernible acknowledgement that the Cubans have been putting up one titanic struggle that the ordinary man here had not thought possible — "against the Americans" at that.

Our people truly deserve more sagacious and decisive leadership, committed to total defence of the common heritage of democracy which we share with the U.S.



## FURTHER POSITIVE ASSESSMENT OF CHAMBERS' PERFORMANCE

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 26 Oct 83 pp 14, 39

[Text] PRIME MINISTER George Chambers has "come out of his crease." That's what Ernest Tracey thinks. The "Guardian" continues his article.

In the brief period which has elapsed since he took office, Mr. Chambers has managed to imprint his own personality on both the internal and external affairs of state.

He has also managed to improve both the service and operational efficiency of the telephone, water and electricity utilities. It is a sign of the Prime Minister's strength and self-confidence that he has so readily delegated responsibility to his Ministers and top level technocrats.

For a while, it appeared as if Mr. Mahabir was running the show. Then Mr. Rampersad and Mr. Barsotti had their turn in the spotlight. Now Dr. Ince gets to speak out against apartheid at the U.N.

Unlike his predecessor, Mr. Chambers affords his Ministers the opportunity to shine in public fora. He also demands that they extricate themselves from difficult situations, as was the case with Minister Mottley and the Korean contract.

At the operational level, Mr. Chambers had no difficulty in dealing with either the Racing Complex or the rebel cricketers. The Racing Complex contract was scrapped as easily as was the later Korean deal. The handling of Larry Gomes was done with taste and sensitivity.

At the macro level of strategic planning and policy formation, Mr. Chambers deserves high marks. He introduced the concepts of productivity and discipline at a time when the nation was still unaware that the economic times of petro-dollar expansion had come to an end.

He has also been very skilful in reintroducing the functions of national planning, evaluating and accounting by way of the Demas Report.

The Task Force selected by the Prime Minister to work under Mr. Demas reads like a "Who's Who" of the establishment's strategic planning intelligentsia.

More importantly, the Demas Report effectively coopts many of the developmental, organisational and financial positions taken by Opposition intellectuals such as Best, Rambachan and Deosaran.

Mr. Chambers has demonstrated the maturity and integrity of leadership by openly coordinating the critical intellectual inputs of all political factions.

This is a far cry from the accustomed style of arrogant confrontation and rejection of all opposition inputs to the governmental process of the pre-Chambers's era.

The bitter prescription of belt-tightening and financial controls recently imposed by Mr. Chambers are made more palatable by his firm but unobtrusive leadership style and timing. The nation is grateful for the movement from confrontation to cooperation as the style of national leadership.

Mr. Chambers is also taking a firm hand in leading the nation into the era of high technology. Computerisation and automation are being introduced in the educational institutions and throughout the bureaucracy.

This programme will provide a means of enhancing operational effectiveness and productivity, while at the same time increasing the scope and quality of job opportunities.

It is somewhere within this realm, probably under the mandate of NIHERST, that the Prime Minister will provide the policy and operational linkages between the separate Task Forces on Productivity and Development Strategy (Demas Report).

On the domestic political front, Mr. Chambers has proven to be a most resourceful player. He has demonstrated to Mr. Robinson and the DAC that the national government determines the parameters of the autonomy exercised by the Tobago House of Assembly.

He has been able to assert his authority over the Tobago House of Assembly through the budgetary directives of Minister's Jacelon and Padmore.

The performances in Trinidad has been equally impressive. When he decided to talk before the 1981 General Elections, he swept all before him. In stark contrast, the PNM performed dismally in the 1983 Local Government Elections when George did not participate.

There is no doubt now as to who is the liability and who is the asset. It is doubtful that the PNM could win in 1986 without George Chambers. The nation is still basking in the gloom of the excellent performance by Mr. Chambers at the recent meeting of Commonwealth Ministers of Finance.

#### His Flexibility

Once again, Mr. Chambers demonstrated the scope and flexibility of his leadership skills. At the regional level, Mr. Chambers showed the strength of his

conviction in regional pluralism by a willingness to consider the peculiar needs and interests of each CARICOM member state.

This included a thorough understanding of the special circumstances of Grenada.

At the more general level of the conference our Prime Minister won the plaudits of both the Secretariat and other Commonwealth representatives for the skilful manner in which he chaired the conference.

We can be justly proud of the fact that Mr. Chambers was selected over other international luminaries to present the position of the Financial Ministers at the upcoming meeting of Commonwealth Heads of State in New Delhi.

In Trinidad, we are gradually realising that George Chambers knows us, understands us and can lead us out of the developmental wilderness in which we have situated ourselves. George has demonstrated all the skills and qualities needed for successful leadership of this nation.

CSO: 3298/183

## CHAMBERS OPENS DOOR TO PANDAY FOR VIEWS ON BUDGET

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 19 Oct 83 p 20

[Text] PRIME MINISTER George Chambers had written Opposition Leader Basdeo Panday stating that the Opposition is as free as any other organisation to submit views and suggestions in writing on the Budget.

He has also invited the Opposition to do so in respect of the 1984 Budget.

However the Prime Minister has pointed out that the Government must at all times retain the right to decide on the policy and fiscal measures which, in its judgment, are best for the effective economic and financial management of the country.

The Prime Minister's letter was sent in reply to one sent to him by Mr Panday calling for a pre-

budget meeting of Government and Opposition to be held before the final draft of the 1984 Budget.

Mr Panday had stated that under the present political system the annual debate on the Budget was an exercise of futility.

In his reply, Mr Chambers explained that if Government did not retain the right to decide on the policy and fiscal measures it would be abdicating the responsibility and repudiating the mandate given to it by the people in free and fair elections.

Mr Chambers said that he was not persuaded that debate was an exercise in futility or that it is the

view of a large section of the population.

The Prime Minister pointed out that the Budget is a statement of the economic policy of the Government and it was an instrument of accountability and a tool for the management of the community's resources.

He said, too, that over the years Government has provided a considerable amount of documentation for the information of Parliament with the intention of improving the standard of the debate.

He drew attention to provision for the establishment of a political research unit in the Opposition Leader's office. This he said, was manifestation of the Government's intentions with regard to the quality of debate in and the standards of Parliament.

## SECURITY PLAN FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS INVOLVING PARENTS

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 19 Oct 83 p 7

[Text]

**SAN FERNANDO:**

**A PLAN for security jobs in primary schools to be performed by parents trained as security officers is being mooted in South Trinidad.**

The idea was initiated by Mr. William Brown, security official of the Secondary Schools Maintenance Training and Security Company, who told the annual conference of the Victoria Region of Parent Teacher Associations, that "it was virtually impossible for government to provide security for all primary schools throughout the country because it is both unrealistic and expensive." On the other hand he said the Police Service "is heavily taxed with other duties," but a steering committee of parents and teachers had agreed to form a company known as the Students' Protective Services Company which could undertake security at primary schools and thereby put a stop to the crimes taking place within school compounds.

Mr. Brown told the conference that he believed that "heaven helps those who help themselves." While

some people expected the government to undertake every imaginable project, he felt that parents and teachers had an equal responsibility to assist in providing some measure of security at schools.

He said he was opposed to the idea of boycotting classes because in the final analysis "the children are the ones who suffer and are put at a serious disadvantage having lost too many school days. The practice of having children take part in demonstrations, industrial style, was a bad example and did not augur well for the future generation, he declared.

Mr. Brown saw the PTA as a vibrant and dynamic organisation playing a vital role in the educational system and the Students Protective Services, he said, was committed to motivate and directly assist parents to take the initiative and to embark on activities that would assist in all areas of school life.

Mr. Brown said that the company had received the blessing of the Ministry of Education.

The conference was held at Presentation College.

CSO: 3298/184



## BRIEFS

TEXACO WORKING CONDITIONS--SAN FERNANDO--THREE members of the government factory inspectorate--Mr W. St. Rose, Mr Lenny London and Mr Rambhagan Baboolal visited the waterfront in Texaco on Tuesday to examine conditions described by waterfront workers last week as "dangerous and unsafe." Workers said that conditions at a number of berths were unsafe and that although complainst were made to the company's security officers and they in turn had visited the area, nothing was done to effect improvements. A Texaco spokesman when told of the report last week declared that the conditions wer "not unsafe." On Tuesday, however, the three government factory inspectors accompanied by Mr Rawle Cassie, Texaco's Port captain, Mr Thomas Benjamin, Texaco's chief safety officer as well as union shop stewards Mr. R. Lalchan and Mr George Roberts, toured the waterfront. During the tour it was reported yesterday, several "unsatisfactory conditions" were seen and Texaco officials questioned about a number of areas pointed out by union representatives. A report will be submitted shortly. [Text] [Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 27 Oct 83 p 7]

FLOWERS TO COLOMBIA--TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO is exporting flowers and teak seeds in a two-way air cargo trade which started last September 22 with the inaugural flight of Transportes Aereos Medellin Antioquia Colombia (TAMPA), a privately-owned air freight company. A spokesman for the Colombian Embassy in Port of Spain said yesterday the flights take place every Thursday with shoes, handbags and leather goods coming to Trinidad. He said that a small quantity of flowers and teak seeds are exported. An invitation has been extended to the BWIA, the national carrier, to start regular passenger service to Colombia. The handling agent for TAMPA in Trinidad is Aviation Services Limited. [Text] [Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 19 Oct 83 p 7]

CSO: 3298/184

## RODNEY ARISMENDI SPEAKS ON WEAKENING OF MILITARY REGIME

Madrid TIEMPO in Spanish 31 Oct-6 Nov 83 pp 76-77

[Interview with Rodney Arismendi by Nestor Norma, in Madrid; date unspecified]

[Text] [Question] With regard to your release, which took place during the regime's most oppressive period, it was claimed that there was an agreement with the USSR whereby the latter promised to make large meat purchases from Uruguay. Is that true?

[Answer] No, it is not true. I had spent 9 months underground after the coup d'etat, when they arrested me. The fact is that the dictatorship, pressured by a very extensive international campaign, which was also reflected in Spain, deemed it fitting to expel me from the country. It was for that reason that they proposed to the USSR that it give me the right to asylum. That business about the meat purchase to grant my release was a story that they concocted later.

[Question] Demonstrations have been occurring in Uruguay with increasing frequency and larger crowds. Does this mean that the military regime is on the defensive?

[Answer] Actually, the dictatorship is split apart, and the objective and subjective premises for making it collapse have been created. All its maneuvers aimed at becoming institutionalized have failed. It organized a plebiscite, and the people voted against it; it passed a law authorizing certain parties to elect their leader through a general vote, and the result was that 87 percent of the people voted for the parties and leaders who were less conciliatory and more opposed to the dictatorship. It passed a labor union law with fascist features, aimed at having the labor organizations subject to police control, and there has emerged a platform which has been joined by the entire clandestine labor movement originating from CNT [National Convention of Workers].

[Question] In 1985 there will be general elections in Uruguay. If the Communist Party is not legalized and if the Broad Front is not allowed to participate, will you back the majority option as the Argentine PC has decided to do?

[Answer] We have not yet assumed a position on that, because, obviously, we do not want to weaken the struggle for legalization. The case of the Argentine PC is different, because it is legal and because, although it will support the Peronist presidential ticket, it has maintaining its candidates for Congress. Insofar as we are concerned, there will be time, based on programs and positions, provided the legalization is not achieved, to back some legalized party or not back one.

[Question] On the basis of those programs and positions that you mention, what is the political force that you consider more acceptable at present: Wilson Ferreira Aldunate's White Party, or Julio Maria Sanguinetti's Colored Party?

[Answer] I cannot answer that question for you in that way. You must realize that we are now participating with those forces in demonstrations and other types of opposition to the dictatorship. At the present time, the struggle involves the legality of all political parties, the release of all prisoners, a return to the Constitution of 1967 and democracy.

[Question] The bipartisan system has prevailed for decades in Uruguay. Why didn't the left have a greater electoral influence up until 1971, the date when the Broad Front appeared?

[Answer] Because the electoral laws polarized the society and offered the bipartisan system enormous advantages. In the long run, the bipartisan system has led to electoral fraud, because it attaches to both options the group of problems for which they do not always have a response. And this is reflected in the opportunities for congressional gains. In 1971, in fact, a political factor appeared, to break up the bipartisan system; one which is recognized by Socialists, Communists, Christian Democrats and other smaller forces dissociated from the traditional parties, and the Broad Front came into existence. And it did so in a way that frightened the ruling classes, because it gained 20 percent of the vote throughout the country, and won the government in Montevideo with 32 percent.

[Question] When you say that the bipartisan system led to electoral fraud, are you challenging the fact that Uruguay has been, as has been claimed, the Switzerland of America because of its democratic stability?

[Answer] Well, except for a few conformists, we have never liked the expression. I think that expression was coined in Europe. And the fact is that we are different realities. For years, Uruguay was a country shaken by labor conflicts, owing to the leading role played by the labor movement, by a left which, while it was not powerful from an electoral standpoint, was present in the nation's life and was a real political force. If there was democratic stability, it was because the prevailing system had no changes in the government until a leftist opposition appeared, and was of serious concern.

[Question] At the end of the 1960's armed organizations appeared in Uruguay and Argentina, which fought for the same political space traditionally occupied by the left; which, according to some political analyses, made the establishment of dictatorial regimes possible. Do you agree with this analysis?

[Answer] That is an erroneous assessment, at least insofar as Uruguay is concerned. The essential thing in Uruguay was the enormous power of the masses' struggles, and one sector of the people considered that insufficient, and proceeded to organized armed action, not armed struggle but armed action. And that sector was struck hard, as the rest of the left was also. But it was not because it was a victim of denunciation or sectarianism on the part of the rest of the left; rather, it was because certain types of that action clashed with the development of the Uruguayan political process.

[Question] After the heavy setbacks that occurred for the left from the military dictatorships, what policy should the left implement in the Southern Zone? Is a resumption of the armed struggle possible?

[Answer] It depends on the circumstances. Obviously, during this phase, the methods predominating in Uruguay are mass mobilizations and peace negotiations. In Chile, Pinochet's very proclamation that he would remain in power until 1990, and the oppression, have prompted sizable leftist forces to use all methods of struggle. If the dictatorship in Uruguay does not fall, no one can tell what will happen.

[Question] The military have claimed that some political prisoners, those known as hostages, from the Tupamaro guerrillas, are unnegotiable. Should the amnesty which you propose include those prisoners? What is the status of the political prisoners?

[Answer] We propose an unrestricted amnesty: from the top-ranking leader of the Broad Front, Liber Seregni, to the so-called hostages, comprised of Tupamaro leaders, Raul Sendic among others. The military have given them this name because any action by their comrades would cause them to be executed. As for the conditions for the prisoners in Uruguay, they are dreadful. The jails called Libertad and Puerto Rieles are veritable concentration camps, built on the basis of models thought up by the Americans for the physical and mental destruction of the inmates.

It is an intolerable situation from a legal, moral and human standpoint.

2909

CSO: 3348/91

## PIT LEADER SEMPRONI EVALUATES IMPACT OF RECENT PROTESTS

Buenos Aires LA VOZ in Spanish 13 Nov 83 p 18

[Interview with Victor Semproni, leader of PIT; date and place not specified]

[Text] On Wednesday, 9 November, the Uruguayan workers organized in the Inter-Trade-Union Workers Plenary (PIT) led another protest demonstration against their country's dictatorial regime. On this occasion, the change in attitude on the authorities' part regarding demonstrations that had been held peacefully with police personnel observing at a distance, culminated in one of the most violent confrontations in memory since the dictatorship has been in effect in the country. The ban on demonstrating was unheeded by the workers, several thousand of whom converged in the downtown area of Montevideo, after championing forceful measures in their work places. The PIT leaders Oscar Seco, Juan Carlos Pereira, Richard Read and Victor Semproni, and the imprisoned tobacco workers' leader, Juan Carlos Ascencio, among others, led the workers' demonstration when the brutal repression described by newsmen was triggered.

LA VOZ talked at length with Victor Semproni, a bank workers' leader, married, 47 years old, with two children, who is a member of the PIT Executive Secretariat, after he had been incarcerated for over 4 years because of his activity as a head of AEBU (Bank Workers Association) and CNT [National Convention of Workers].

[Question] The Inter-Trade-Union Plenary has just put on one of the most daring protest demonstrations since it came into existence. How do you evaluate Wednesday's demonstration?

[Answer] Well, we are still deliberating at present. The demonstration must be divided into two parts: The first one took place on the work sites, as had been planned, in a normal fashion; and it may be said that the workers' response to the summons from PIT was overwhelming. One hundred percent of the professional organizations comprising the Plenary carried out the work stoppage during the morning and afternoon, and a very large proportion joined from the sectors not yet unionized or lacking ministerial permission to engage in union activity. Stress must be placed on the participation by the state workers, which was massive, even though their union activity is expressly banned by the government. Unfortunately, it was impossible to complete the demonstration as we would have wished, but that was not our fault. What happened at night (and we are embarking on the second part) had no origin other than the government's unwillingness



to listen to the legitimate demands of the Uruguayan workers, who have reached the limit of their endurance and can no longer put up with the prevailing social and economic situation. The repression that has been unleashed was totally disproportionate and unwarranted; and at best the people's repudiation of all its actions will continue to intensify.

[Question] Were the PIT leaders warned of the ban on demonstrating, and even on holding that protest activity?

[Answer] This was not reported to the Inter-Trade-Union Plenary, because the government insists upon disregarding its legitimacy; despite the fact of its representative nature and capacity for summoning, which no one can deny it has, inside the country, and the backing and solidarity of organizations in all countries that we have.

We learned about the ban as everyone else did, and requested a meeting with the police chief on Saturday morning, 5 November. We did not receive a response until Monday night, when the members of the PIT Secretariat, in plenary session, were summoned and had to put up with lengthy questioning by members of the "services." Without giving us valid reasons for the ban, they tried to hold us responsible for anything that might happen; something which we would not accept, because they did not recognize us as an organization, and did not recognize our right to petition peacefully, as we workers deem most feasible. And we were also going to be there in order to be consistent with the sentiments and demands of our comrades, and not to stifle our people's urgent, legitimate requests for a change. We could be held responsible for the position of the workers organized in PIT so long as we were allowed to demonstrate peacefully, as was our intention.

[Question] What was the response to that position?

[Answer] As usual, there was no change. We explained that, although there had been a decision by the PIT Executive Secretariat to avoid any kind of confrontation, the condition of the Uruguayan working class warranted anticipation of a massive response to the protest demonstration, and that we could not shirk the responsibility for heading the march. We stressed the peaceful nature of all our actions opposing the constant persecution to which we have been subjected. Without going any further, recently, workers from ANCAP [National Administration of Fuels, Alcohol and Portland Cement], from the state oil refinery, were fired on account of their union activity.

[Question] Of what, specifically, did Wednesday's demonstration consist?

[Answer] It consisted of a general standstill of all work activity for 10 minutes in the morning and 10 minutes in the afternoon, keeping silence in the respective locations. In the bank workers' union, the stoppage lasted 20 minutes; and in the health workers' union and some places such as beverage plants and FUNSA [Uruguayan Tire Plant, Inc], a tire factory, it lasted half an hour and meetings were held. Generally speaking, the protest was flexible, and geared to the level of consciousness and struggle attained by the different trade unions.

[Question] Did you foresee such a drastic response as the one given to repress the downtown gathering?

[Answer] Actually, we did not; but it did not surprise us. We could not believe that they would act as they did. It was clear to everyone willing to see that they began the violence. We were marching ahead of a column of workers four blocks long; and suddenly, without a warning of any kind, the repression was triggered on all sides. There was no dialog, nothing, just inexplicable savageness.

[Question] Since when has PIT been acting?

[Answer] Officially, since the great May Day ceremony, but actually the labor organization and unity of the workers have been latent and developing during all these years.

On 27 June 1973, at the time of the military coup, CNT, the only classist labor federation representing Uruguayan workers, declared a general strike in defense of freedom. For 15 days, we took over our work places. They were difficult days, and many of us experienced beatings and imprisonment. An assessment of the past 10 years reveals to us a labor movement that has been decapitated by repression, with leaders jailed, others killed and missing, and the rest in exile or dismissed. Nevertheless, despite the adversity, we workers have been recreating our spirit of struggle in many different ways. The greatest responsibility for resistance to the military has fallen upon the workers and the people, with the general strike. We have not shirked that responsibility, despite the repression. The force of the classist, solidary tradition of our working class and the recovery of the trade union structures have been present at every event, large or small, that we have managed to head during the past 10 years; and it is the sentiment that has created the new leaders.

When the internal pressure and international solidarity forced the government to allow a certain type of trade unionism, we workers have only made public a sentiment and an activity of struggle that we had never given up, and we put the labor organization into operation with no slogan other than the unconditional representation of the interests of our class and of the people. This is how PIT came into being, from the rank and file, and faithful to the classist tradition of Uruguayan workers. However, of 226 unions which comprised CNT in 1973, only five have managed to reach this stage of reorganization without being shut down.

[Question] How many labor organizations are there in PIT?

[Answer] At the present time, PIT consists of 130 professional associations; but there are responding to it many more that are in the process of legalization with the Labor Ministry authorities. We are constantly receiving comrades who are starting to unionize or who ask us for advice and want to join the Plenary.

[Question] On Wednesday, you were at the plenary meeting with different organizations, including the authorized political parties. What support have you received from these sectors?

[Answer] The solidarity and commitment with the Public School Students Organization is complete and total. As for the authorized political parties, well, two representatives from their human rights commissions were there on an individual basis, and in the activities concerning the prisoners, they only agreed to join us on a personal basis. A more formal and overt commitment by these parties to the workers' cause and the serious problems confronting the people would unquestionably be more effective. In any event, we consider the support for the mass protest demonstrations that has been achieved to be highly positive.

[Question] What does PIT have planned from now on?

[Answer] Well, PIT will continue ahead with its program of "freedom, wages, jobs, decent housing and amnesty." Without freedom, and without a response to the distressing economic situation being experienced by our people, no political solution can be constructed. The status of the workers and the people is a priority.

[Question] What is the amnesty? Is it anything like the Argentine Government's amnesty?

[Answer] Absolutely not. Amnesty here is an unavoidable issue for the Uruguayan people's meeting again, the people meeting again with each other; the meeting again with those who have been in prison for years; the meeting again with the exiles and with the missing persons; the meeting again of those dismissed with their jobs, and the meeting again with freedom.

[Question] Do you have anything planned to insist upon these demands?

[Answer] We are already working on the next demonstration, on 30 November. On that day, we shall commemorate the "no" of 1980 and the opposition's victory in the 1982 internal elections; in addition to confirming the workers' decision to continue struggling on behalf of our just demands. It will also be a fitting occasion to hail the advent of the democracy so yearned for by our fraternal Argentine people.

2909

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## POLLS, DEMONSTRATIONS SEEN AS PROOF OF COPEI'S DECLINE

Caracas RESUMEN in Spanish 13 Nov 83 pp 3-4

[Article by Manuel Malaver]

[Text] For the Social Christian Party (COPEI) the problem is no longer one of absorbing the defeat on 4 December, but rather one of survival after the electoral collapse presaged by the polls and street demonstrations. It should be recalled, however, that the defeat of 1973 was also disastrous, and 2 years later the green party was once again vying for power.

The Venezuelan electoral campaign has entered the home stretch. Just 4 weeks away from the day when voters will elect the new president of the republic, it is evident that few changes will be made in the defining characteristics of an event that in more ways than one could be considered the sounding board of the crisis of the last 5 years, as well as an indication of what the future will be like. Shadows and dark clouds loom on the horizon, and they can already be felt in the excesses and heat of the moment. Never before have the words and situations unleashed by the political process been so loaded with signs and omens, which at the very least must provoke uncertainty and concern.

All the worrying so far revolves around the Social Christian Party, COPEI, the political organization founded by Rafael Caldera, which is responsible for the administration of President Luis Herrera and is considered one of the pillars of the Venezuelan political system. Most political analysts do not believe it is possible that an electorate which must necessarily channel all its vengeful passions toward a party that has caused one of the most widespread and intensive frustrations in the country's memory, would not want to deal a historic repudiation to that party.

It is almost axiomatic that the Venezuelan electorate votes against the current administration, and that at the polls the majority of voters express their opinions of the outgoing administration, as well as their expectations of the incoming administration. Of the five elections that have been held in the last 25 years, four have been lost by the party in power. Now, at present, everything indicates that the "repudiation principle" will be applied in full force, if we consider that never before have a party and government fallen so far short of the hopes the people had placed in them.

The unpopularity of President Luis Herrera is really impressive. In recent months his popularity rating fell below 11 percent, which is unique not only in recent political history in Venezuela, but in that of any country in the world. Never has the image of a chief of state deteriorated so suddenly and sharply. The man who 5 years ago was elected president of the republic with 46 percent of the votes, is now ending his term with what could practically be called a plebiscite against him personally and his administration. In this decline one can discern the frustration and discouragement that have typified the unprecedented experience undergone by Venezuelans during the nightmarish Herrera term, comparable only to the days just before the fall of President Andrade in the last century, or the decadence of the era of Cipriano Castro in the early days of this century.

But the "revenge" has been equally hard on COPEI; the disgrace of the ruling party has also reached inconceivable limits, exceeding even the predictions of its staunchest and harshest critics. No one ever thought a party organization that grew steadily since it was founded, that managed to become the only viable alternative to Democratic Action, that was responsible for the leadership of the country during two presidential terms, and that actually nurtured some of the most qualified and promising people of recent generations, would plunge so catastrophically and traumatically in the opinion polls, to the extent that it risked being overtaken by the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS) and relegated to an ominous third place.

The majority of the polls carried out in Venezuela in recent months are overwhelmingly unanimous in awarding the Social Christian Party a mere 25 percentage points, placing it in a precarious electoral position that can only mean a political collapse of unsuspected consequences for institutional life and the stability of the economic model pursued since the oil boom. There is no doubt that a new pattern of forces is emerging in an extremely complex and difficult political and economic situation. In this new situation, the values that only yesterday were the *raison d'être* of our new democracy, are at least beginning to be questioned.

But the real epicenter of the collapse of COPEI can be seen in the inability of its presidential candidate and most important leader, Rafael Caldera, to remain a viable alternative to his main opponent, Democratic Action candidate Jaime Lusinchi. Here again the opinion of the man in the street leaves no room for doubt. No matter where one looks, it is clear that a certain myth has been debunked in the last 2 years, that an entire era and an entire way of perceiving the nation have been slipping. After they fall, there will only be room for a new model of development and a new leadership. With the breakdown of the candidacy of the Social Christian Party's founder, perhaps another mentality, other styles and other ways of viewing Venezuela will emerge on the horizon.

The surveys have also been hard on Rafael Caldera. In whatever part of the republic opinion polls have been conducted, it has been made clear that the prestige of the COPEI leader, not as a person but as a presidential choice, is literally at rock bottom. Some mention 20 percent, others 23, others 25. Whatever the case, it is obvious that this rating never figured in the prognoses of even the most pessimistic. It is also clear that although the



green candidate was never given a clear victory, no one ever dreamed he would fall below his own expectations, which were always at 30 to 35 percent. In short, the situation was truly alarming, not only stumping COPEI strategists but also unleashing all kinds of doubts and uncertainties about the country's immediate future and its prospects for the medium and long terms.

#### Problems in Party Apparatus

Opinion polls are manipulative, however, and at least in Venezuela, they reveal only the tip of the iceberg of the electoral situation. In other words, they can be accepted only as a partial, biased and circumstantial indication of voter preference. They do not always reflect the precise dimension of the political phenomenon, and sometimes they become so far removed from that phenomenon that their results are diametrically opposed to the predictions. This happened in past elections, for example, when until the last minute Luis Pinerua Ordaz was being called the winner. In this regard, they should be regarded as eminently circumstantial and indicative; they should not be accepted as the only and exclusive criterion of the truth.

Actually the proof of COPEI's ailment derives from other symptoms, other areas, which can be deduced simply by reflecting analytically and impartially on its internal situation and its public image. When we stop to think about the performance of the Social Christian leaders; when we see how implacable and even cannibalistic the factionalist struggle is; when we observe the contradictions between the official party and the government; but basically when we evaluate COPEI's mobilizations, we come to realize that whether or not the polls are right, an inescapable decadence, an unconcealable senility, has contaminated the party apparatus, depriving it of its efficacy and even turning it into almost useless scrap.

This is reflected dramatically in the lack of motivation, the loss of an almost religious mystique that enabled it in truly complex moments to overcome its difficulties. At all turning points, at all major crossroads, that voluntarism always shone, in an abundance that led to a certain organizational weakness and more than one ideological doubt. Above all the obstacles reigned that COPEI enthusiasm that was able to project another long-range hope for a Venezuelan society saturated sometimes with conservatism and other times with populism.

Today the Social Christian rallies, demonstrations and caravans are simply projections of a bureaucratic vocation that has gone beyond the administration of Luis Herrera to take root in the structures of a moldy party organization without the morale of victory. There go the crestfallen multitudes, the party members who do not dare shout, the activists who hardly greet each other, the men and women who dared to show their faces because they must protect their salaries. This is the in extremis expression of a routed army, a confused community, a spent force that feels impotent in the face of defeat. There are no grand principles or slogans, just the routine chanting of a string of publicity blurbs that in no way correspond to the really moving effort the candidate is making.

The green party's activities thus take on the aspect of theatrical shows, publicity exhibits, circus parodies. Far from stimulating and promoting an unstoppable drive to accept and respond to the challenge presented by Democratic Action as a power strategy, it skirts the fundamental problem and takes refuge in an attitude that is sometimes aggressive, other times maudlin. This attitude serves only to tarnish further the image of the candidate, the party and the campaign. Then comes the ostentatious television promotion, the broadcasting of appearances and programs that merely outline an abstract and aleatory dimension of the political phenomenon. Actually the damage has already been done, and the television version is the best proof that the little tremor expected for 4 December may be more earthshaking than it appears on the surface.

The COPEI member of 1983 is a solitary political animal, subject to all kinds of fears, inclined to expect the worst and to exaggerate his sins, absolutely out of place in the current electoral confrontation, and as if that were not enough, without leadership not only to urge him on in an open and desperate struggle for power, but also to point out which course to follow after the catastrophe of next 4 December.

Another indication of COPEI's illness could lie in the strategy of its Campaign Command, which has tried at all costs to polarize an electoral battle in which the ruling party started out with all the odds against it since it had to carry the excessively heavy burden of the Herrera administration. As a result, it proceeded to disperse the forces that tended to line up against the government, the parties and groups whose only option was to fish in the troubled waters of the opposition to an administration that was repudiated by 70 percent of Venezuelans. The more divided the vote of the opposition, and essentially the more the blame for the current crisis could be cast on the other party, the better the chances would be for the green party and its candidate to improve their position.

The strategists at Cujicito opted, on the contrary, to enter a man-to-man confrontation, comparing the qualities and strong points of the Democratic Action and COPEI candidates, noting the experience and abilities that could back up one or the other in facing the serious problems that plague the country. This would have to lead to an analysis of their disadvantages and weaknesses, and the only possible result of that would be a boost for Jaime Lusinchi and a demerit for Rafael Caldera. In the final analysis, regardless of any other value judgment, the man from Clarines represented the new, the opportunity of other generations to contribute their opinions and experiences. This is extremely significant in a population whose average age is barely 30 years.

But the strategists of the COPEI election campaign also are showing signs of incoherence and an insurmountable disunity. There is no "COPEI electoral campaign," but rather several "campaigns." From the states, the districts, the municipalities and the professional sectors, this multiplicity of paths, functions, lines and tactics emerges. This disparity constantly fuels the ambitions of some local political bosses, but it contributes nothing to the victory of the top leader.

## Short Term Prospects

At any rate, at present the hottest issue being discussed in political circles is whether the COPEI defeat on 4 December, and the commotion that will follow the checkmate that is awaiting the founding father, will lead not only to a momentary collapse but also to a dispersion that would invalidate the party as a political organization capable of recovering and continuing to play its role as a cornerstone in the preservation and stability of the system, and basically as a force capable of remaining among the top contenders for the direction and leadership of the country. Some observers doubt it will have a useful life after the traumatic experience of the Herrera administration, and especially after the electoral defenestration.

In this regard we would like to take a prudent stand, and warn that no one should lose sight of the fact that the COPEI defeat of 1973, although unexpected, also had disastrous implications. After the initial surprise, however, the party machinery recuperated slowly but surely, and within a short time it was once again courting the national majorities away from a government which, like that of Carlos Andres Perez, had all the resources and attributes necessary to remain in power. Not 2 years passed before the Social Christian Party was already a resurrected organization, riding the tiger of return.

There is no doubt that the first 2 years of Jaime Lusinchi's administration will be perhaps the hardest in our democratic history. There COPEI will find fertile ground for its recovery and for launching a full-scale campaign to reconquer Miraflores. It is clear that if the party knows how to be a good loser and does not succumb to internecine battles and factionalism, then it could have the last word.

8926

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## OPTIMISM REGARDING DEBT RENEGOTIATION LEADS TO SPECULATION

Caracas RESUMEN in Spanish 13 Nov 83 pp 12-14

[Article by Leandro Canto]

[Text] It is no mystery that a certain wave of optimism is passing through government circles with regard to the process of renegotiating the debt; any progress, however, no matter simple it may be, must be linked to some greater concession on the part of Minister Sosa. That could very well be a surprise after 4 December.

Perhaps very little attention has been given to the fact that in recent weeks the conditions that have been laid down in order for Venezuela to refinance its foreign debt have gradually and discreetly been eased, to the extent that many are wondering if the debt problem can be resolved more easily and less traumatically in the coming months.

It is clear that this question involves undertaking a rather thorough analysis of the situation. At first, the sharpest minds can find common threads between the problem posed by the invasion of Grenada by the American marines and Venezuela's passivity in this particularly delicate case of military action.

It is true that Venezuela's position, except for the salute to the flag represented by the "vigorous condemnation of any kind of foreign intervention in a sovereign country," constitutes a kind of silent endorsement of the U.S. attitude in the Caribbean, which no doubt pleases the giant to the north. Nonetheless, this fact alone does not explain what appears to be a concrete achievement in the debt negotiations, and only to a very limited degree can it have a direct influence on what took place in New York over the past few weeks.

In fact, no one is surprised that Venezuela's soft stand on the Grenada situation had the ulterior motive of winning a certain additional consideration from those responsible for the imperious moratorium that the country requires under the guise of renegotiating the foreign debt. But the effect may not be what many imagine: Countries much more acquiescent to the United States in various aspects have not received any more favorable treatment in their attempts to solve their economic problems.

True, it is possible that under some circumstances Venezuela has benefited from its position on the Grenada problem, but more within the context of a solidarity between governments that has little or no influence on the decisions made by board members of the U.S. banks that are our creditors.

The slight upturn in the Venezuelan negotiations could perhaps be understood in light of an analysis of the gradual change in the Reagan administration's position with regard to international finance. In an article recently published by the official organ of the U.S. Government, "Economic Prospects," Treasury Secretary Donald Regan himself highlighted some of the viewpoints of the U.S. Government on the matter of the foreign debt of developing countries. He expanded on earlier positions with appeals for understanding on the part of international banks because they were the ones primarily responsible for seeking solutions to international financial problems.

"Cutting off bank loans," wrote Regan, "does not serve the interests of the lending banks themselves. In some cases it could force weak but otherwise acceptable borrowers to renegotiate their debts. (An allusion to Venezuela?) All those commercial banking institutions--large and small--which have participated in the international loans that enabled the borrowing developing countries to go into debt, partially unproductively and without any foreign exchange earnings, should be aware of the dangers involved in trying to cut the risks during the process of adjustment that has already begun."

Regan's attitude is not very different from that of the U.S. representatives at the Special Extraordinary Conference of the Organization of American States (OAS) on External Financing, which was held recently in Caracas. There the United States' supreme interest in seeing the development of major economic readjustment programs in the debtor nations was made clear, without taking into consideration the need for the lending bank to assume a greater responsibility in this process. Unlike the negotiators in Caracas, however, Regan's tone sounds much more conciliatory, which undoubtedly reflects the marked and growing desire of the Reagan administration to find a way out of the Latin American debt situation.

Within this general perspective, Venezuela naturally has a special place, and it is also possible that the lending banks, in view of the political interest of the Reagan administration as expressed in these words by the treasury secretary himself, have become more cautious and at the same time more accomodating.

This political "accomodation" is attainable only among the large commercial banks of the United States, such as the Chase and Citicorp, which hold most of Venezuela's credit. This fact alone could lead to success in Arturo Sosa's effort at mediation, to the extent that there is confirmation of the increasingly firm desire to help the country find the way again without having to resort to the rigorous "bitter pills" of the International Monetary Fund.

Certainly the political softening of the creditors took place prior to the intervention in Grenada. Otherwise, the crisis undergone by the advisory committee of the international banks would never have taken place, having been



created precisely by the pressures by small U.S. banks for which world politics is much less important than the money of their depositors.

For 3 weeks, since the resignation of Mauricio Garcia Araujo, a crisis of considerable proportions has been brewing, pitting the small creditors against the big ones. The subject of the argument was no doubt whether or not the pressure should be eased on a country which, because of the upcoming elections, is almost totally unable to make any decision on the renegotiation of the debt until the results of the elections are in. The crisis was most likely the result of a problem inherent in small and medium banks, in contrast to the interests of the large commercial banks of the United States.

International liquidity problems have affected small bankers particularly strongly, and have hindered their access to sufficient resources to make the investments they expect to make in industrialized countries, most particularly the United States, to take advantage of the incipient reactivation of that economy.

Thus, for the small banks, it is undeniable that the renegotiation should not imply renewing the long-term loans at rates not much different from the Prime Rate in faraway countries with doubtful ability to pay, when the U.S. economy needs loans urgently to increase production. The obvious conclusion is that the small bankers have a particular interest in recovering the assets they have invested in long-term instruments in countries such as Venezuela, so that they can convert them into short- and medium-term investments. This entails a greater rotation of bank assets, a diversification of portfolios and better financial planning of activities.

Venezuela's idea of the renegotiation is more in line with the viewpoint of the large financial entities, for which the most important fact is the maintenance of the larger balances, which naturally have favored them. But this view has never been shared by the small and medium banks, also known for their excessive conservatism. They like to maximize profits, minimize risks and diversify operations, logical goals in the banking business.

Within the microeconomic perspective of small bankers, any long-term debt is bad business during times when the country's productive activity is recovering rapidly: Once inventories are depleted, while demand for goods and services begins to grow again, the capitalized loans lose importance in the face of the avalanche of requests for working capital or financing for new productive investments. Consequently, no halfway intelligent banker would refuse to convert his cash assets to use them within the national productive system.

This viewpoint has provoked much of the pressure that has been exerted on Venezuela since it began to reconvert its foreign debt. Furthermore, the risks continue to be high: The country's balance of payments deficit has not been resolved, and the oil market is showing permanent signs of momentary weaknesses that could lead to the deflation of the price of crude.

The moratoria have been imposed as the country confirms that over the next 90 days there will be no problem paying off the interest on the total debt. In addition, it is in everyone's interest to some extent to help the country

revive its operating reserves to a level that will enable it to regain lost confidence. But that is the limit. There are two highly significant conditions: first, no one wants to refinance the debt without the IMF's consent; and second, this prolonged paralyzation of resources (4 years grace period and 8 years to pay off the principal) must be absorbed only by those banks that really have a financial strength equal to that of the largest international institutions in this sector, which means that the small banks cannot agree to losing a large proportion of their assets in this trap.

Despite the optimism in this regard, Sosa's success in the United States is not assured. Otherwise, how can Garcia Araujo's departure and the wavering position of Francis Mason only 2 weeks ago be explained? Perhaps the political interpretation of these relative successes in the negotiating is more significant.

The bankers do want sufficient guarantees that Venezuela will recover in the medium term, and that the country will regain its basic equilibrium after a series of adjustments are made in its economic policies. But it is also true that the negotiations are not taking place at the most propitious time, that is, when the country is about to elect a new president. Consequently, the banks should logically reduce their pressure in order to minimize its effect in the middle of the election campaign.

The latter hypothesis could be even stronger if it were assumed that the candidacy of Rafael Caldera is more favored by the bankers, but that would be speculating too much without enough basis for argument. What is more likely in this case is that a certain agreement has been reached about some interim measures in the readjustment process that would take the new president down a dead-end street; that is, he would be forced to continue with the adjustment policies that the bankers want.

The latter hypothesis seems much more attractive from various standpoints. In fact, just the decision to devalue the bolivar definitively to between 6 and 7.50, as has already been announced by Sosa for a time after his own term, only a few hours after the votes have been counted, would force the new president, whether it be Caldera or Lusinchi, to proceed with the subsequent readjustments, to the great pleasure of the banks. With this proposal up his sleeve, Sosa could well have won over quite a few experienced people on the Bank Advisory Committee during his latest visit to New York.

For the bankers, this prospect is pleasing and agreeable to all: It is well known that sooner or later the country will have to unify its exchange rates, which would necessarily imply a decision that will be opposed by everyone equally. But the decision is inescapable; this means that no president, except for the defeated one, would want to make it.

During the past few weeks there have been inconsistent remarks that these measures are on hold until 4 December and that there is no going back; sources close to the financial authorities of the country have said that this would be an honorable way out, although traumatic as well, especially for private businesses with large foreign debts. Nonetheless, a slight devaluation,

accompanied by rigorous exchange control, could serve as a means for achieving a certain significant domestic equilibrium.

Inflation would be strong, it is true; but it is a factor the government can undoubtedly control more easily than the country's exchange difficulties. A prudent contraction of the money supply would help curb rising prices, which would in turn raise interest rates, keeping them positive perhaps, and thus attractive for the return of certain capital. The corollary would doubtless be more unemployment, more bankrupt businesses and more poverty. This intentionally deepened recession has been the subject of many analyses, by critics as well as advocates, without finding any other solution. As a consequence, its only real impediment is the political obstacle, the acceptance of responsibility for making the decision, the assumption of the immediate risks, and certainly no one who aspires to be president wants to inherit such circumstances. Consequently, perhaps a consensus has already been reached as to who should take historic responsibility for these measures: the outgoing administration of Luis Herrera.

This "fiction" does a great deal to explain Sosa's relative optimism, the softening position of the creditors, and the abundance of comments in financial circles. It could well be a not very surprising fact by next December.

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